

For the  
NATIONAL SOCIAL  
ACTION CONFERENCE

# Social Order

SEPTEMBER 1958

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## Catholic Social Action

Leo C. Brown

Supreme Court '57-'58

Childress & Dunsford

Economic Problems

William F. Kennedy

Books • Comment • Letters

MONTHLY OF NATIONAL JESUIT SOCIAL SCIENCE CENTER

# Social Order

Vol. 8 No. 7  
SEPTEMBER 1958

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## . . . just a few things:

A BENCH MARK of the growing maturity of the Catholic social action movement in the United States was set on the afternoon of August 24, 1955 at Worcester, Massachusetts, during the discussion period following a paper on "The Mass and Political Order" at the 16th National Liturgical Week. Answering a question of the always thoughtful Father Robert Hovda of Berlin, N. D., Monsignor George G. Higgins, Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, declared:

I agree with you that there is a tendency—I have done it myself frequently and I have been rightly criticized for doing it—of carrying over into the temporal order a type of certainty and uniformity which we have in the faith, for which there is no place in the temporal order. As one who has thrown more than his share of papal documents and episcopal statements at people who disagree with him, I am gradually beginning to learn my lesson, I think, because the longer I live, the more convinced I become that so many of the temporal problems we are wrestling with are far too complicated to be solved by any simple solution. We have the supernatural order, we have supernatural aid, we have basic Catholic principles. But one of the paradoxes of modern life to me is that in many fields the people who sometimes do the best job of applying those principles are in God's mysterious providence people who lack the supernatural aids we have, and who lack the guiding principles we have with such certainty from the Church.

Another bench mark will be fixed at Notre Dame University on September 5-7 when the National Catholic Social Action Conference meets. Representing various groups in the field of social action—labor schools, interracial

work, adult education, rural life, family and community organization, Catholic employers and trade unionists, etc. — sharing common ideals and common interests, the participants will know each other well. Indeed, they have been meeting annually for four years to discuss common problems. Now they have decided to form a permanent organization with a secretariat and to adopt a constitution which declares the basic purpose of the NCSAC shall be

to stimulate, guide and aid American Catholic laymen to undertake purposeful, effective and organized activity aimed at making sound social principles operative in the institutions of American society.

In keeping with this aim, the Conference proposes to give special emphasis to:

1. Stimulating, guiding and aiding laymen to undertake social action in their vocational or work environments.
2. Servicing existing social action organizations.
3. Stimulating new social action organizations where they are deemed desirable and proper.
4. Providing the means for an exchange of information and experience among all individuals and organizations concerned with organized Catholic social action.

Membership in NCSAC is open to all interested Catholics. The secretariat is at 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. Regular dues for individual members are \$3 a year.

By way of participating in the discussions at Notre Dame SOCIAL ORDER has invited two of its collaborators, Professors Kennedy and Ferkiss, as well as its Director, Father Leo C. Brown, S.J., to set down their thoughts on the contemporary role of Catholic social action in the United States.

The NCSAC comes into existence at a moment when the Catholic social action movement in this country seems—at least to this observer—somewhat bemused. The pioneering goals of the 1919 Bishops' Program are largely achieved. "Where do we go from here?" seems to be the current mood. It is an attitude well expressed by Monsignor Higgins in the quotation noted earlier. It is an attitude which recognizes the complexities of the problems involved in building a more human environment for fuller and richer living.

The veterans at the Notre Dame meeting will remember the more zestful days when the almost exclusive concern of the Catholic social action movement was to aid the trade union movement then battling for recognition of its right to organize. Alfred Jay Nock epitomized (and satirized) that epoch in an essay tellingly entitled, "Whom Do We Picket Tonight?" It was surely easier to join forces against an unjust employer than it is to decide today whether to lend one's support to a campaign calling for the end of testing nuclear weapons.

Certainly the contemporary American environment, the scene of the NCSAC's activity, is different from that which the earliest organized forms of Catholic social action faced. Frederick Lewis Allen's book, *The Big Change*, both describes and expresses the difference. Analyses of the American economy and of its social fabric, drawn trustingly from textbooks of Catholic social thought of European provenance, become of ever more doubtful appositeness. To be relevant, Catholic social action must be authentically American, geared to the eco-

nomic facts and social realities obtaining in the United States. Nothing is more fatuous than conducting social inquiries based on conditions obtaining in other countries.

Adolph A. Berle, Jr. has complained that

no adequate study of 20th century capitalism exists . . . No one, it seems, has seriously undertaken to restate the actual practice of American capitalism as it has developed since, let us say, 1930, describing its operations and results, and readjusting theories to conform to fact

Even in the absence of any adequate theory of our economic practice, Catholic social action will have the wisdom to deal with the actual structures of our working life rather than with some textbook model.

●

The problems confronting Catholic social action increase in complexity and scope as America's responsibilities in a narrowing world augment. The preoccupation with distributive justice, the notion that there would be enough wealth for all if the selfish rich were made to disgorge their greedy profits, seems dated.

Father Brown's survey of the targets for Catholic social action today has underlined our international responsibilities. Given the proportion of those responsibilities, given our membership in an universal, supranational Church, the meagre interest in the Catholic Association for International Peace, an organization "open to all Catholics in the United States interested in the American promotion of international justice, charity and peace," is surely regrettable.

"Americans are beginning to turn a searchlight on themselves and their civilization and interpret both to the

world," noted Max Lerner recently. "To stimulate, guide and aid . . . activity aimed at making sound social principles operative in the institutions of American society," the members of the NCSAC and all interested in its objectives must expend constant effort to comprehend ever more accurately the foundations, spirit and functioning of American institutions.

It is in this light that the terms of justice involved in the price-profit-wages equation must be judged. It is undoubtedly (and probably unhappily) true that the American social action movement has concentrated on wage justice at the expense of price justice, that it has (as a result?) shown scant interest in consumer education, a not negligible factor, one would think, for family life training. Professor Kennedy properly raises the question of our acceptance of permanent inflation, a question of justice which cannot be ignored.

Certainly an understanding of the foundations of American political institutions will strengthen the convictions of Catholic social actionists in their stand against segregation and all discrimination against minority groups. An understanding of the spirit and functioning of American institutions will sharpen their skills in combating such evils; for to anticipate and alleviate the tensions of group living demands an organized community effort.

Is it a typical American phenomenon that a national Catholic social action organization, concentrating on *activity*, precedes the creation of a body of American Catholic social *thought* and comes before the existence of any coherent program of Catholic social action? Perhaps no great research is

needed to underline our immediate problems: the heightening of our social consciousness, the encouraging of a more genuine civic spirit and of active participation in community concerns and, not least (as Professor Ferkiss insists) a cauterizing of the banalities of an affluent society where the primary danger confronting American Catholics was described by Bruce Marshall as "*Bongo! Bongo! Bongo!*" and the comic strip."

If we are to judge by surveys of college students, their hearts are set on a good job in a large organization, a ranch-type home in the suburbs, a beautiful wife, two cars and an income of \$15,000. Hardly a list of ambitions suggesting concern for the creation of an environment for richer and fuller human living. Not the least of the tasks of the NCSAC, then, will be to deepen in American Catholicism a sense of mission and of solidarity, in short a social sense, a realization of personal involvement in a common temporal destiny, a determination to share in the common public burden of building a more human environment for all.

A common public work is what the Greeks called *leiturgia*, a term whose Christian resonance serves as a reminder of the religious motivation that must attend all fruitful effort in social action. Though we are invited to ask for our daily bread, we have also been notified that we cannot live by bread alone. The Temporal City, to whose continuous improvement the membership of the NCSAC is pledged, will be the more humane the more it is inspired by the vision of the city not built by human hands.

EDWARD DUFF, S.J.

# Catholic Social Action

LEO C. BROWN, S.J.

IN HIS introductory notes to this issue, the editor of SOCIAL ORDER observes that the Catholic social action movement in this country seems at the moment somewhat bemused. And well it might be. The goals which the 1919 Bishops' Program presented Catholic social action and which guided its activities for the greater part of a generation, however bold and ambitious they may have appeared to contemporaries, were definite, clear cut, and, with a modicum of good will, readily attainable; they were largely economic and called for what today seems but modest reform in economic and legal institutions; they offered Catholic social action a program which required dedicated work, but a task which was essentially simple.

By contrast, the social problems confronting the American people today are by any historical standard forbidding, even frightening, in their dimensions and complexity. Even a beginning of their solution will strain both our resources and resourcefulness. For the most difficult of these problems, the leaders of Catholic social action, like other Americans, have no ready answers, no tested theories. We know, however, that preliminary to any successful attack on the more pressing of these problems—those especially in the area of international relations—there must be a revision of deeply-imbedded

American attitudes and prejudices. Perhaps it will be in this area that Catholic social action will make its richest and most valuable contributions.

A few facts will summarize what seem to me to be the major social problems of the United States for the foreseeable future:

1. The problem of defense. The destructive potential of armed communism, dedicated as it is to world domination, imposes on the American economy a continuing and, it now appears, a mounting burden of defense.

2. The vast disparity of standards of living throughout the world. From the point of view of economic well-being the world divides into three groups: the industrialized areas, comprising Europe and North America, whose inhabitants enjoy a standard of living which makes them the envy of the rest of the world; the communist areas where a rapidly developing scientific and mechanical technology offers some promise of improved living standards; and the non-industrialized, politically noncommitted areas, where the mass of the people, a vast majority of the world's population, live in conditions of extreme poverty.

3. An explosive rate of population growth. This growth, which only the highly industrialized countries can hope to absorb without a lowering of living standards, is widening the already intolerable economic disparities among peoples of the world.

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Father Brown is Director of the Institute of Social Order.

4. The growing awareness among the teeming masses of the poorer countries of the relative wealth of industrialized nations.

5. The rising spirit of nationalism which converts the natural aspirations of poorer countries to improve their economic conditions into a bitter determination, as a matter of national and racial self-esteem, to eliminate gross disparities.

6. Economic instability. The stubborn tendency of our economy towards inflation is endangering the stability of the economies of the Free World and may seriously limit our ability to make our needed contribution to international economic development and, thus, to world peace.

7. Other domestic problems of considerable urgency, such as the costs of urban redevelopment in the framework of a rapid population growth and increasing tensions in domestic race relations. The first, when considered along with our inescapable international commitments, will help suggest the dimensions of the burden imposed upon the economy; the second will aid us to understand the difficulties involved in effecting those changes in national attitudes which must be made if we are successfully to assume the role of international leadership for which destiny seems to have chosen us.

### **Primacy of international problems**

From what has been said it is clear, I think, that our gravest social problems are in the area of international relations. Chief among them, as already suggested, are two—the problem of defense and the problem of aiding other nations to attain that stage of economic development

which will afford their people a decent subsistence and hold out the promise of progressive improvement. For these problems I hesitate to assign an order of priority. They are closely interrelated. Survival, of course, is paramount; but it is doubtful whether we can survive in a world where the mass of men and nations are in want.

Considered only as an economic burden, the costs of defense are staggering. At present they amount to about ten per cent of the annual national product and are increasing both relatively and absolutely. Major George Fielding Eliot<sup>1</sup> has pointed up the changing costs of weapons with a few instructive examples. The ammunition needed for firing a 16-inch gun costs about \$6,000. One of the earlier guided missiles cost about \$60,000. An intermediate range missile (1500 miles) costs about \$600,000. An intercontinental missile, when perfected, may cost as much as \$6,000,000.

The widespread persuasion that modern missiles can be manned by a small compact military force is illusory. The public is only beginning to realize the complexity of these weapons and of the vast personnel and range of skills needed in manning them. Moreover, experience is showing that we cannot rely on a constantly changing personnel for a modern military force. Military salaries must be high enough to attract and hold the skilled technicians needed to service and man modern weapons and intelligence systems. This is but one of the

<sup>1</sup> George Fielding Eliot, "Adequate Defense in the Cold War and Preventing the Cold War from Becoming Hot," *Problems of United States Economic Development*, Vol. 1, Committee for Economic Development, New York, 1958, p. 370.

many facets of our rising defense burden. We cannot with confidence predict the size of the future defense budget. We know only that it will be large enough to test the nation's determination to maintain it.

Defense is not solely, perhaps not primarily, an economic or even a military problem. Total war no longer promises victory; modern armament is a deterrent. Its worth consists in the threat of such devastating retaliation that an aggressor will be afraid to release the first bomb. At best our defense can create a stalemate of terror; it cannot guarantee our survival.

#### **Future depends on their decisions**

In the ideological struggle between communism and democracy a majority of the world's population—more than two-thirds of the people of the Free World—are but doubtfully committed or wholly uncommitted. Upon the political decisions of these peoples our future in great part depends. The nations of the west could scarcely hope to escape inundation in a rising sea of world communism.

These politically uncommitted peoples, though differing in race, religion and culture, are alike in one respect: they are poor. They live in economically underdeveloped areas that span most of Asia, Indonesia, Africa, the Middle East, and much of Latin America. Their average annual income is about \$100 in goods and services. In contrast the average income in the United States is \$2,000 and in the more industrialized countries of Europe \$1,000 or more. The people of North America, less than one-tenth of the world's population, enjoy between two-thirds and three-fourths of the world's wealth and income. Three-fourths of mankind, liv-

ing in underdeveloped areas, share among themselves less than one-tenth of the earth's annual product.

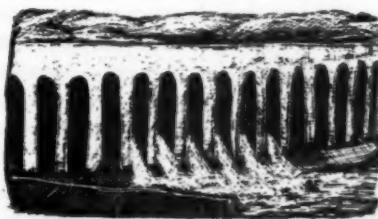
The gap is widening. The more industrialized countries of the Free World have been increasing their real product at annual rates which vary from three per cent for the United Kingdom and four per cent for the United States to ten per cent for Western Germany. Many of the underdeveloped countries are experiencing little or no economic growth. When we consider the impact of a rate of population growth which may double the world's population in less than fifty years and which is greatest in the least economically developed areas, it is obvious that unless these countries quickly expand their output they will experience a rapid deterioration in living standards already intolerably low, and the disparity between them and the more industrialized peoples will widen.

A growing awareness of these disparities in wealth and income is creating among the world's poorer peoples resentments and unrest of explosive potential, and many of their leaders, impressed by Russia's genuinely astounding technological and scientific achievements, are asking whether communism does not offer the best solution to their economic problems. The race of armaments upon which we have tended to focus attention has obscured an important, perhaps decisive, phase of the Cold War, the economic contest for the support of uncommitted peoples.

What are the dimensions of the economic problems of underdeveloped economies? Julian S. Huxley,<sup>2</sup> relying

<sup>2</sup> Julian S. Huxley, "Bridging the Gaps between Living Standards of Underdeveloped Countries," *op. cit.*, p. 85.

on the U.N. Report on Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries, uses an estimate of more than \$20 billion annually. Other estimates have been more modest. Since the war we have devoted about \$60,000,000 to foreign aid, the greater part of it in direct or indirect military aid.



At least a comparable appropriation for purely economic aid will be needed in any serious attack upon the problems of underdeveloped areas.

The financial outlay is but part of the problem. The rapid, we might say forced, development of an economy is a complex technical undertaking. We have little experience or tested theory to guide us. Underdeveloped countries differ widely in geography, culture, resources and state of development. The experience of Israel, for example, where a remarkable development has been achieved within a decade, might prove largely irrelevant in Africa or Latin America. The problems involved in restructuring and enlarging the economy of a single country are to a large extent unknown; the task is the economic development of a major portion of the world. Where problems are known, answers are often uncertain. And, unfortunately, effectuating those policies which are most clearly indicated will encounter serious psychological obstacles either in the nation which

extends or the nation which receives aid.

The word "aid" illustrates some aspects of the problem. It suggests a relationship of economic inequality, of affluence on the part of the giver and need in the receiver—a relationship inescapably offensive to the national pride of the receiving nation. Our tendency to make foreign aid an instrument of political policy is likewise offensive to other nations and possibly self-defeating. In the eyes of the receiving nations we are using their need to deprive them of independence in formulating their policies. The repeated insistence of other nations upon "trade not aid" is a manifestation of their unwillingness to be treated as economic dependents.

There is an unrealized ambivalence in our international economic policies. While we would energetically proclaim adherence to the principle that commerce is preferable to aid, we are reluctant to encourage international specialization in production which is an essential condition for trade. We have, it is true, reduced tariffs since the 1930s, but the industrialized countries of Europe have been the chief beneficiaries, and despite the lowered tariffs our balance of trade is becoming increasingly favorable. Between 1950 and 1956 imports increased twice as fast as exports, 88 per cent as contrasted to 44 per cent. Because of our dominant position in the world market, relatively minor fluctuations in our economy or in particular segments of it may have a disproportionate effect upon the economies of other countries. The instability of our trade in raw materials is one of the important causes of the wide and frequent fluctuations of the prices of primary products and of the result-

ing grave harm to the economies of the producing countries. Similarly, our protective policies for some areas of manufacturing and especially for agriculture are disproportionately costly to many underdeveloped areas, and the surpluses created by agricultural subsidies are a constant threat to the stability of one-commodity areas. Successful aid to underdeveloped areas implies much more than a transfer of capital goods.

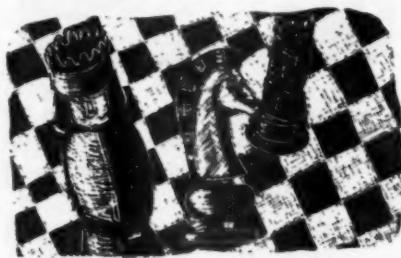
Even the method of capital transfer may require much revision of deeply held convictions. By tradition we oppose state investment. We feel strongly that capital to foreign countries should move through the channels of private investment. Such investment is already important and is increasing but it will yield only a fraction of the needed capital. The greatest needs for capital are not manufacturing and mining, to which private capital normally flows, but public services, such as transportation, roads, docks, water, communications, sanitation and public utilities, which in underdeveloped countries are normally provided by governments. Even private investment, if balanced economies are to be realized, will need much encouragement from governments. Practically, this will mean government-financed lending institutions providing investment funds to their nationals. Foreign governments will not be able to realize needed funds through private investment channels.

#### **Creating political atmosphere**

A realistic concern for the welfare of economically underdeveloped countries will entail a greater subordination of domestic interests to international policies than we may be prepared to accept. Perhaps one of the more fruitful tasks of Catholic social action will

be, by clarifying the issues and our moral obligations, to assist in creating the kind of intellectual atmosphere which will make it politically feasible for us to make our needed contributions to foreign economic development.

Many readers will probably challenge the naming of inflation as foremost among domestic economic problems. I would agree that there are persuasive arguments supporting those who, like Professor Slichter, regard a mild inflation as a modest and necessary price for industrial peace and full employment, and



yet I would assert that it is a grave problem for two reasons: 1. there is nothing in the mechanics of creeping inflation that guarantees that it will continue only to creep, and that price increases can be held to any predetermined gentle annual rate; 2. we have no satisfactory means of controlling it.

Unlike previous inflations caused by the creation of purchasing power at rates which outran the ability of the economy to increase product, our current price rises reflect the spiraling of costs. Wages, for example, have been rising faster than productivity. Producers, as some readers will be quick to note, have shown little restraint in their own price behavior, and this, also, is part of the problem. It has long been recognized, however, that producers, especially where they enjoy monopoly

positions, share responsibility for high prices; it is less readily conceded that high wages can and do result in high prices. Moreover, as Professor Haberler of Harvard University has pointed out, monopolies may cause high prices, but the existence of monopolies does not exert *continuing* upward pressure on prices. Explanation of a continued rise in prices by invoking monopoly assumes a continuing increase in the extent of monopoly.

That average hourly wages have been rising faster than man-hour productivity is an historical fact. Given this fact and our unwillingness to tolerate any amount of unemployment, inflation is inescapable. If costs in any period are rising faster than average productivity the existing volume of economic activity can be carried on only if the dollar volume of transactions, that is the price level, rises. When monetary authorities restrict credit and thus prevent an increase in the dollar value of total transactions, the level of activity falls off, and some unemployment results.

Theoretically, the same level of activity could be maintained through a lowering of prices. Practically, however, it is unemployment and the threat of unemployment which force a reduction in costs and permit prices to fall. The credit squeeze creates a squeeze on profits, and producers are driven by falling profits to economize in whatever way they can, by a more efficient use of labor, by curtailing investment, or by offering greater resistance to union wage demands. With a labor movement habituated to inflationary wage increases employer resistance is relatively ineffective without a greater amount of unemployment than we would tolerate.

## \$2,000,000,000,000 for cities

The problem of inflation in the immediate future will be complicated by increasing pressure on prices from the demand side. Defense expenditures and the costs of aiding the development of other economies have already been discussed. There are in addition domestic needs which call for huge expenditures. Sizeable outlays for urban redevelopment cannot be indefinitely postponed. One fact suggests the magnitude of the construction job involved. The 168 metropolitan areas which today contain about 100 million people will number 155 million inhabitants by 1975. Most of our expected population increase will occur in urban areas. The cost of providing added housing, transportation, schooling, hospitalization, and other facilities—even at present standards—challenges the imagination. Reginald R. Isaacs of the Department of City and Regional Planning at Harvard University introduces an article on the "Real Costs of Urban Renewal" with the phrase "almost two trillion dollars by 1970."<sup>8</sup> He estimates that housing alone will require investment of \$250 billion. Even a growing tendency to measure distances in light years has not prepared us for estimates of such magnitude.

Shrink these estimates if we can, the fact remains that maintenance of present living standards as population grows demands a continuing expansion of output. Add that the American people will not be content with static standards of living, that we have a growing dependent population of older people for whom

<sup>8</sup> Reginald R. Isaacs, "Metropolitan Areas: The Real Costs of Urban Renewal," *op. cit.*, pp. 339, 340.

we are making inadequate provision, that changing economic techniques are creating some stubborn areas of residual poverty and chronic unemployment: to these add also the growing burden of defense commitments and our inescapable responsibility to contribute to the economic development of poorer countries, and we begin to appreciate the dimensions of our economic problems.

So far this paper has discussed economic problems or, more accurately, the economic aspect of social problems which on accurate analysis may be found to be only superficially economic and which at all times involve sociological, political and moral issues. The explanation is simple: the writer is an economist. One other problem which is only remotely economic, because of its importance for domestic unity and international security, cannot escape the attention even of an economist.

Can we persuade peoples of diverse race that we mean what we say about the equality and dignity of all men when they observe our own racial discrimination? What is thought in Africa of the necessity of providing American Negro children military protection to attend school? Or in Asia, of the refusal to seat a visiting Indian dignitary in an American restaurant? Or elsewhere, of the explanation, apparently acceptable to some, that he had been mistaken for a Negro? Were we to close our eyes to the moral issues involved and discount completely its domestic costs, we would be compelled to conclude from purely international considerations that we cannot longer tolerate racial discrimination.

I find, somewhat to my dismay, that I have said little about the future role

of Catholic social action. I also find, I frankly admit, that I have little to say. I, too, am bemused. The social problems with which the nation will be struggling for the foreseeable future are distressingly complex. Few can hope to be well informed about any one of them. Yet, as citizens of a democracy, we have an inescapable responsibility to support those policies which contribute to the general welfare. We have often heard it said in Catholic social action circles and elsewhere that union members have a responsibility to participate in an informed way in the activities of their union. Equally cogent logic obliges us as citizens to participate in shaping those decisions which we as a people are daily making about national



and international issues. To aid us in this task is, I have already suggested, one of the important roles of Catholic social thought and action. This role with its need for accurate knowledge of an increasing range of complex problems may tax the resources of Catholic scholarship. Because the matters which must be considered lie rather in the domain of prudential judgment and action than speculative knowledge, an essential condition of progress will be free, full and tolerant exchange of divergent points of view. Possibly as an earnest of fruitful progress our mastheads should reaffirm that ancient maxim of Catholic scholarship: In matters of Faith let us have unity; in others, liberty; in all things, charity.

# Facing our Economic Problems

WILLIAM F. KENNEDY

THERE IS ALWAYS a danger of persons engaged in social action organizations settling down in the accustomed routine and getting buried under the day-to-day requirements of the job. Meanwhile social changes go inexorably on. After a while the personnel of the organization find that, although they still have plenty to do, they are working on problems of diminished significance. To avoid this the leaders of social action groups should, from time to time, attempt to scrutinize the future and to lay plans for dealing with its problems. Those deeply engaged in social action may not be able to get an objective view of the future and may instead merely extend their present commitments and interests. This danger can be obviated if the view of the future is taken from completely independent sources.

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*Professor of Economics at the University of California, Dr. Kennedy briefed the presentation for the symposium, "The Christian Conscience and an Economy of Abundance," in our May, 1957 issue.*

A unique opportunity to get an independent appraisal of the important economic problems of the future is provided by the publication by the Committee on Economic Development of a symposium on the question: "What Is The Most Important Economic Problem To Be Faced By The United States In The Next 20 Years?" The answers are given by 48 scholars and leaders of public affairs throughout the free world. The Committee issued this summary of the essays:

Seventeen of the 48 papers named aid to underdeveloped countries (better distribution of the world's wealth)—a few of them collaterally—as the major U. S. problem; eight cited inflation; and six mentioned some aspect of urban congestion and the related problems of local redevelopment brought on by skyrocketing population growth.<sup>1</sup>

This consensus is significant not only for showing what 48 leading thinkers regard as important but also for show-

<sup>1</sup> *Problems of United States Economic Development*, Vol. I, Committee for Economic Development, New York, 1958.

<sup>2</sup> Press release, December 29, 1957, Committee for Economic Development.

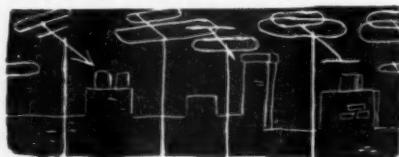
ing what issues they regard as so difficult of solution as to persist as pressing problems over the next 20 years. Thus the question by its nature excludes from consideration what may now be highly important but seems to be near satisfactory solution. Under the assumption that this consensus is as reliable a forecast of economic problems as can presently be hoped for, I think that long range plans for Catholic social action organizations can be based on it with reasonable confidence that five or ten years hence there will be no regrets that a phantom problem was being pursued.

From this standpoint the two leading problems emerging from this symposium can now be examined in more detail.

### Problem 1: Underdevelopment

The underdeveloped countries present a complex of problems of which only a bare outline can be indicated here. An essential feature is the large disparity of economic well-being among the peoples of the world accompanied by a growing awareness, through improved communications, of this disparity. A comparison of incomes made in a United Nations' study showed that while per capita annual income in the U. S. was \$1,500, there were large areas in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East with average incomes of about \$50. A CED study recently estimated that two-thirds of the free world's people live in areas that have an average annual income of \$100. A plain recital of the disparity is enough to stimulate to action those interested in Catholic social principles.

Beyond the reasons stirring the consciences of people in advanced countries, there are other reasons for action. Most of the poor countries are also as yet "uncommitted" in the struggle between the two great world powers, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. *Realpolitik* will not permit us to neglect them.



The problems of the underdeveloped countries must also be viewed within a pattern of world-wide social revolution. The peoples of these countries have two chief aims: political self-determination and economic improvement. There appears to be nothing revolutionary in these aims. We, too, sought them when we were a relatively underdeveloped nation but with this important difference: capital was readily available in the London market which could be paid back by the sale of our surplus in the free markets of England. Unfortunately today's international institutions do not provide the underdeveloped areas with the good markets for capital and goods of the last century. The present social movement of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries can be described as revolutionary because it is a revolt not only against institutions at home but also against existing international institutions that impede the attainment of their aims. Despite the revolutionary character of these social movements, it does not seem too difficult to conceive an international order consonant with Catholic social prin-

ples in which both advanced and underdeveloped countries can attain their political and economic goals.

One of the evident economic difficulties of the underdeveloped countries is the large amounts of investment required to raise the standard of living, the prerequisite of which is equal amounts of saving. At their present low levels of income there is no substantial margin beyond consumption available for saving. A United Nations' study estimated that approximately \$15 billions of outside capital would be required annually (in addition to the amounts that might be saved internally) if the underdeveloped areas were to have a two per cent annual increase in incomes. The financial burden is a minor part of the problem, for it represents only a small percentage charge against current annual production in advanced countries. The fundamental obstacles to the attainment of this new way of international economic life are the attitudes and attachments to present institutions of the peoples of both advanced and underdeveloped countries.

Professor Paul Homan says some excellent things on American attitudes in his essay in the CED symposium. He stresses foreign aid as a moral as well as a political and economic problem. The moral imperative "does dictate the spirit in which the problem should be approached. . . . Given the present low starting point of American public opinion, the first task is to cultivate the spirit." (p. 25) His subsequent comments are also apposite:

I do not think a satisfactory state of civilization can be achieved in the United States so long as it entertains a tribal attitude toward the rest of the human race. . . . The circumstances of the United

States are such that in the economic sphere we are pulling further and further ahead of most countries, and are taking our dividends increasingly in the form of trivialities. (pp. 22-3)

### **Essential attitudes**

Improvement of economic conditions in the poorer areas of the world involves the attitudes of their peoples as well as those of the advanced countries. The high productivity of the advanced countries is not purely the result of rich endowment of natural resources—Switzerland provides a good example on this point—but is largely dependent on attitudes, including those regarding private property and its protection, credit and honesty and work and discipline, among others. Present attitudes and institutions in most underdeveloped countries are not conducive to the rapid economic growth they seek. Under these conditions foreign capital might be largely wasted. It might be that rapid acceptance of our attitudes is the quickest way to economic improvement but this is not likely to happen for several reasons, the chief of which is the widespread feeling of "anti-colonialism" that stoutly resists imposition of Western ways. Yet it is true that while they resist the imposition of Western culture, the underdeveloped countries are voluntarily seeking to acquire its technology and science and in the long run will probably accept and adopt many Western economic attitudes.

Attitudes in underdeveloped countries are going to be especially difficult in the area of foreign capital. There is resentment even in friendly Canada against the investments made by American corporations. Funds for investment provided by the U.S. government trig-

ger another form of resentment through fear of political domination.

Some years ago a delegate to the United Nations from Costa Rica summarized well the attitudes of peoples in underdeveloped countries when he pointed out that his people wanted the opportunity to develop their economy through the efforts of native entrepreneurs rather than by those of American corporations or government. Native entrepreneurs, however, need foreign capital, and the delegate suggested that private investors in the United States might be able to make their savings available to Costa Rican banks which could provide on the spot supervision of loans. It is questionable whether the American investor is going to accept the risks of foreign investment of this kind when he can buy securities in well-established domestic corporations on the stock exchanges. Furthermore, the great source of saving in the United States is the corporation rather than the individual. The corporation is not likely to turn over its funds to others to invest. The peoples of underdeveloped countries face the dilemma of either accepting the corporation—which up to now they have largely found objectionable—or of foregoing access to the large sources of capital funds which are essential to their economic development. Attitudes on these questions require careful examination. Perhaps radical revisions will be needed in both advanced and underdeveloped countries.

The importance of attitudes—and their present low state—suggests that a wide range of Catholic social action groups, including youth, family and trade union movements could contribute to improving the situation. This

might be achieved by study, by discussion groups and by dissemination of information, even including political activity. The fact that attitudes in both advanced and underdeveloped countries are involved raises the question whether Catholic social action has had adequate regard for its international responsibilities. Catholics in America have an opportunity to do something on a regional basis to improve understanding and attitudes by promoting discussion and contact between Catholics of the advanced countries of North America and Catholics of the underdeveloped countries of Latin America. Since this is a complex problem that requires much more expert research and knowledge, there appears to be a need for a Catholic organization to specialize in the problem, promoting study and disseminating the results to agencies specializing in other areas.

### **Problem 2: Inflation**

The problem given priority second to relations with underdeveloped countries by the scholars participating in the CED symposium is wage inflation. This designation is used to refer to the chronic tendency for prices to rise in post-war America, a phenomenon which cannot be described as merely another instance of classical inflation in which too much money is chasing too few goods. The problem arises from the pursuit of three policies: full employment, economic freedom and price stability. We could quite readily attain any two of the three but our efforts to attain simultaneously a full measure of the three policies are meeting with failure. Public opinion seems to have favored the pursuit of full em-

ployment and economic freedom at the expense of price stability, resulting in chronic inflation which has so far proceeded at the relatively mild rate of about a two or three per cent rise in prices annually.

Whether or not we can safely proceed under conditions of mild chronic inflation is an issue on which economists are sharply divided. One school, represented by Professor Slichter, holds that chronic inflation as so far exhibited in our economy is not a major stumbling block to economic well-being. Under these conditions the economy in the last ten years has achieved substantial economic growth in real terms. This promises to continue and provide a dividend from which the militant demands of the trade unions can be met. Slichter expects that at higher levels of real income the present degree of militancy will diminish. Professor Jacoby, in his article in the CED symposium, disagrees with this position. He feels that once the members of society generally recognize that price stability has been abandoned for a condition of mild chronic inflation they will take steps to protect themselves, a reaction which will automatically convert creeping inflation into galloping inflation with catastrophic results.

### **Keynesian optimism declines**

More significant than the fact that economists are divided on this and other issues of inflation, is the general tone of the comments in the CED symposium. The optimism of a few years back, inherited from Lord Keynes, that business cycles are a thing of the past and that inflation and deflation can be reasonably well controlled by appro-

priate monetary and fiscal policies, is no longer in evidence here. The Keynesian dictum of the 1930s that the economic problem is just about solved is replaced by the idea that we now have before us a problem that will take many years of hard work to crack. In the words of Professor Jacoby: "In the end a complete solution [to the problem of chronic inflation] may require as much searching thought and economic change as did the older problem of chronic unemployment." (p. 159)

What makes the problem peculiarly intransigent for economists is that it is the kind of problem where economics constitutes an essential but nevertheless minor ingredient toward the complete solution. The problem requires work in other fields of social science, particularly social psychology and political science; it very heavily involves ethics and, behind that, theology. Thus Catholic social organizations, particularly those concerned with the problems of labor and management, face a period requiring serious study of developments in a wide range of fields of thought, if they are to make worthwhile contributions.

The leading concern of the essays in the CED symposium is the strength of trade unions. In the past the unions had to recognize that aggressive wage policies could price labor out of the market, that the price of higher wages was less employment. Now the union has the assurance that a full employment policy will take up the slack of unemployment created by excessively high wages, and hence there is no need for, or wisdom in, self-restraint. The comments of some of the contributors are of interest here. For example, Terborgh

concludes: "So long as we have not solved the basic problem of the excessive bargaining power of unions, we will have to 'roll with the punches.'" (p. 189) Clarence B. Randall says: "When these forces of public opinion become dominant in the economic scene, management and labor will go back to reasonable collective bargaining." (p. 168) Jacoby says:

It remains to be seen whether the monopoly power of labor unions really is an important cause of unemployment under an anti-inflationary fiscal and monetary policy. If it should prove to be an important cause, then the proper remedy would be to reduce the monopoly power of any private organization able to block the employment of resources to a significant degree. (p. 158)

Hayek concludes: "Keynesian principles . . . have contributed so much to strengthen the position of one of the politically most powerful elements in the country, that their abandonment is not likely without a severe political struggle." (p. 152) Haberler says:

The question should be raised how the pressure of public opinion and of the government can be brought to bear on labor unions. There must be ways in which this can be done without any new legislation. The threat of legislative action, for example, stiffening certain provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, would surely have a sobering influence. (p. 146)

#### Ethics & union power

The question of reducing the strength of the unions raises some perplexing difficulties in the application of Catholic social principles. What kinds of restrictions on unions are legitimate in view of the right of the worker to collective bargaining? Should union strength be reduced by the enactment of Right-to-Work laws? By harassments of the Taft-Hartley type? Might not reduction in union strength be a

greater evil if it results in social unrest and resentment?

Reduction of union strength would not in itself be a complete solution. Management of that important segment of the economy which is neither characterized by competition nor by public regulation of prices could exploit by excessive prices the full employment policy, even in the absence of unions. Are such industries as steel, aluminum, automobiles, rubber, chemicals, machinery and equipment to be broken up and made as competitive as textiles and printing or should their status be changed to that of public utilities? The 70-year history of anti-trust enforcement does not give much promise of restoring effective competition in these areas.

This tendency for both business and labor to grab too much under the present rules of the game suggests the interesting possibility of applying the idea of subsidiarity as stated in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*.<sup>3</sup> In speaking of the functions of government in the economy, Pius XI condemned the theories of *laissez faire* and collectivism and suggested that the problems of a modern economy should be met by devising institutions on the middle ground between extreme individualism and statism. Thus our problem of the proper relationships between wages, profits and prices should be met by the development of new institutions at some lower level of power than that of the state. Such an institution might be set up on an industry basis and charged with the function of setting up

<sup>3</sup> See John F. Cronin, "The Message of *Quadragesimo Anno* Today," *SOCIAL ORDER*, 6 (January 1956) pp. 11-12.

certain bench marks within which reasonable prices, wages and profits might be finally negotiated and established by the responsible parties. There would be a problem of correct representation. If such an organization were set up in the steel industry, for example, it might include representatives of management of both large and small companies, of the union, of customers, both large industrial and ultimate consumers of final products, and of government.

Many objections to the plan can be foreseen, especially the possibility that the institution would serve to further collusion among producers and between management and labor. These and other difficulties would have to be overcome by continued study and by practical experimentation starting in a limited number of fields. It is not proposed that this be initiated by legislation; it would be more desirable as an out-growth of management-labor negotiations. I think this proposal is similar to that of Professor J. M. Clark, which led him to this interesting comment on the Reuther Plan:

Reuther's recent proposal to the automobile industry, while not a negotiable offer as it stood, was promising enough, as a recognition of mutuality, to deserve a response that might help advance the idea a step or two toward conversion into something feasible. (p. 135)

The implications of the problem of wage inflation for Catholic social action organizations are similar to those of the problem of relations with underdeveloped countries. In both cases the questions can be raised whether existing organizations are cognizant of the problem and give it sufficient attention and whether there is need for some new organization to concentrate on the problem. There is less urgency for a

new organization to specialize on the problem of wage inflation than on international economic problems because the former is identified closely with the labor problem, a field in which Catholic social action organizations have had a long and active experience.

There is one type of needed activity which both these problems underscore that has been relatively neglected by Catholic social action in America and that is the promotion of serious scholarly research. Weaknesses in Catholic intellectual life in America have so frequently been analyzed that there is no



point in elaborating on them here beyond using those analyses as a background for saying that Catholic scholars could well use the encouragement and funds that a foundation might provide for research in these two fields. Beyond this, the kinds of problems that Catholic social action faces indicate a need for a central agency that could undertake over-all planning and coordination of social action organizations, suggesting priorities among problems and stimulating research on them and aiding those on the front lines to keep abreast of changing developments. Good work along these lines has been done by the Catholic Social Guild in England as evidenced in their publication *Programme for Social Action* prepared by Professor Michael P. Fogarty. This discussion of two of our major economic problems indicates that a similar agency, modified to meet the specific conditions in the United States, could contribute much to effective handling of the problems.

# Social Action in the Affluent Society

VICTOR C. FERKISS

IF EVIDENCE be needed that American Catholicism is in tune with its environment it is readily available in the current mental state of most of those persons and groups concerned with Catholic "social action." Just as socio-economic reform seems a dead issue in contemporary America generally, so also it currently appears to excite little interest among Catholics. Many persons within and without the Church continue to mouth the traditional war cries, but the old fire, if not conviction itself, is gone.

Since World War II we have been living in an era in which American capitalism, even if not in theory the best of all possible worlds, seems in practice highly preferable to any but the most remote alternatives. A phrase such as "the condition of the working classes" has almost as much of a Vic-

torian ring to it as "temperance" or "the emancipation of women." Our concern is no longer with reconstructing the social order but with preserving it against dangers arising not from within that order itself but from foreign enemies without.

## Concern for Catholics?

Whether Americans generally have any business being satisfied with contemporary American society is not our problem here. Our concern is whether a person interested in Catholic social action should be satisfied with the state of modern American society, which is quite something else again, and this despite the fact that historically the interests of Catholic social reformers and those outside the Church have often coincided. Although during most of the 19th century American Catholics generally held aloof from popular reform movements, beginning with the Knights of Labor controversy in 1887 leading Catholic social thinkers have frequently made common cause with

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social reform movements of secular<sup>1</sup> origin. During the 1920s, 1930s and even the 1940s both Catholic and secular social reformers were primarily concerned with the rights of labor and the amelioration of the condition of the ill-starred "one-third of a nation."<sup>2</sup> Even today concern about the position of the Negro in American society serves to perpetuate old alliances. But if Catholics have been interested in many of the same problems as reformers outside the Church there has always been, in theory at least (if often attenuated in practice) a difference in emphasis and, to some extent, in motivation between Catholics and their secular allies. The Church is the expounder of natural law and the protector of the rights of men as men. The Church's mission is essentially a supernatural one and this gives a distinctive character to her concern with human society.

The Catholic social movement of modern times has been motivated not solely by a revulsion against social and economic injustice *per se* nor by a desire to blunt the strength of the Socialist challenge but also by the realization that a man's ability to attain his supernatural destiny is affected by the earthly conditions under which he lives—a motivation unknown to purely secular reformers.

<sup>1</sup> The term secular is used throughout as synonymous with the term non-Catholic despite the recognition of the author that many social reform movements in the United States have been motivated directly or indirectly by religious factors.

<sup>2</sup> For a summary of authoritative Catholic views on social reform see Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., *Social Thought of the American Hierarchy, SOCIAL ORDER* (June, 1952) p. 259. Available as a brochure at 25¢ from the Business Office.

As Catholics our concern with social questions is based in part at least on the belief that a minimum amount of leisure and of material goods is necessary if men are to have an opportunity for normal family or religious life. Gradually we are even coming to realize that a minimum standard of living is ordinarily a prerequisite for the development of an integrated, truly human being, capable of the free acts necessary to a meaningful spiritual life. Behind all the Catholic social actionists' agitation for minimum wages and maximum hours, collective bargaining, family allowances, social security, behind all the hard work of labor schools and all the loose talk about "corporativism" and industry councils, has been the implicit belief that a world in which the so-called "working class" had a higher quantitative material standard of living would not only be a wealthier and more abstractly just world but would result in a substantial improvement in the quality of individual and social existence. Secular social reformers quite frequently held parallel hopes.

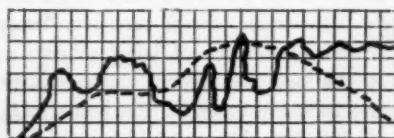
#### **The poor are richer, but . . .**

Well, we've seen the future and it doesn't seem to work, at least not as we all hoped it would.

The poor are richer but neither they nor the rich seem to be any better off culturally or intellectually, nor any better morally or spiritually. The alleged religious "revival" of the postwar years has a cheap and hollow ring to it. The secular reformers' confidence that the "workers," freed from back-breaking toil, would turn to cultivation of their higher faculties seems to have met its nemesis in the triumph of

"mass culture."<sup>6</sup> The secular liberals may denounce the "hidden persuaders"<sup>7</sup> of Madison Avenue or the fact that we have become "organization men";<sup>8</sup> the religiously motivated may decry a vaguely defined "materialism"; but both seem inclined to throw up their hands when it comes to non-hortatory remedies for our present discontents.

The meliorist approach to building the good society seems to have failed, but if economic reform is not the means to a better life, what is?



One possible reaction to the present state of affairs is to insist that the primarily economic attack on our social problems has not actually been proven a failure because it has not really had a chance to succeed or to achieve its objectives. For most of the world this argument has some plausibility. In most of the world poverty is still the number one problem, a poverty in some

<sup>6</sup> The classic collection of articles on this subject is *Mass Culture*, edited by Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, (The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1957). The pessimistic obsession of social scientists with this alleged phenomenon is deplored by Edward Shils in "Daydreams and Nightmares," *The Sewanee Review*, 65 (1957), 587-608, and by Harold Rosenberg in "Pop Culture and Kitsch Criticism," *Dissent*, V (1958), 14-19.

<sup>7</sup> The subject of a sensationalized book of that name by Vance Packard, (David McKay, Philadelphia, 1957).

<sup>8</sup> A species analyzed by William H. Whyte, Jr., in *The Organization Man*, (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1956).

part at least the result of economic injustice. But as far as America is concerned, this argument just won't do. Frugal comfort, indeed! By any standards but their own most Americans are rich, individually as well as collectively. As John Kenneth Galbraith points out in his brilliant new book, *The Affluent Society*,<sup>9</sup> we in this country have already solved the economic problem of producing enough for our material needs. Though gross inequalities persist<sup>10</sup> and some Americans seem to have the ability to dispose of more goods than anyone could ever possibly use, at least virtually everyone has enough. Where there is still want, moreover, the problem is not basically economic but social.

### Who are the poor?

Who, after all, are the American poor, the economically underprivileged? Not the wage earners *per se*, though for many their conditions of work are still highly unsatisfying,<sup>11</sup> but rather certain kinds of wage earners<sup>12</sup> and many persons who are not and

<sup>9</sup> (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1958).

<sup>10</sup> An interesting attack on the widely held belief that inequality of income distribution in America is decreasing is to be found in Gabriel Kolko, "America's Income Revolution," *Dissent*, IV (1957) 35-55; criticism of Kolko's position appears *ibid.*, 315-320.

<sup>11</sup> Especially is this true in mass production industries such as the automotive. See Daniel Bell, *Work and Its Discontents*, (Beacon Press, Boston, 1956); Frank Marquart, "The Auto Worker," *Dissent*, IV (1957), 219-233, and Harvey Swado's novel, *On the Line*, (Little Brown, Boston, 1957).

<sup>12</sup> See Richard L. Heilbroner, "Who are the American Poor?" *Harpers*, 200 (January, 1950), pp. 27-33.

cannot be wage earners in our modern economy. The poor are the Negroes, the migrant farm workers, the Spanish-speaking immigrants, the aged, the Indians, the Southern mountaineers, the physically and mentally handicapped—in short the *socially* marginal and unaccepted.

### No primacy to the economic

Since our problems are not primarily economic but social in nature the reforms we need are accordingly not in the structure of our economy but in the structure of our social relationships. They involve not reorganizing the market system or the wage contract but changing our patterns of community life and raising the level of our intellectual, aesthetic and spiritual aspirations. It is with these areas that Catholic social action must concern itself in the future if it is to be a meaningful constructive force in American life.

If America could solve its social problems our remaining quasi-economic problems would solve themselves overnight. Eliminate race prejudice and you have virtually eliminated the slum.<sup>10</sup> Solve the problems of the place of the aged in society and half of our low-income households disappear. Eliminate ignorance and disease where possible and to that extent you destroy poverty. None of these aims will ever be completely realized in a world under the influence of original sin; in any society there will be individuals whose inborn incapacities will require special

<sup>10</sup>There will, of course, always be areas of sub-average housing in which socially marginal groups will congregate.

consideration;<sup>11</sup> but the economic aspects of our present social problems are obviously result not cause.

### GNP: hospitals and hot rods

The more perceptive secular "liberals" are already awakening to the changed nature of our problems. Several years ago Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. called for the replacement of our outdated "liberalism of quantity" by a new "liberalism of quality."<sup>12</sup> John Galbraith suggests that to solve our problems it is not enough to increase our Gross National Product year after year since the GNP includes not only food, houses, schools, and hospitals but hot rods and switch-blade knives as well.<sup>13</sup> We need to recognize that the issue today is not one of gross production or even of equitable distribution but of what we, as individuals and as a nation, ought to do with our capacity to produce and consume. Socio-economic reforms aimed at increasing our productivity or altering the terms of its distribution are today largely irrelevant save insofar as they affect the kind of non-economic social relationships which prevail in the community.

Economic reforms for their own sake have in the past been the dominant con-

<sup>11</sup>The problem of what to do with the near moron in an industrial economy becomes even more difficult as automation advances.

<sup>12</sup>See his "The Future of Liberalism: 1. The Challenge of Abundance," *The Reporter*, February 3, 1956, pp. 8-11. The objections made in subsequent issues to Mr. Schlesinger's argument could also be raised against my basic assumption concerning the essentially non-economic nature of our social problems.

<sup>13</sup>*Op. cit.*, especially Chapter IX.

cern of most persons engaged in Catholic social action. This must be the case no longer. In the past the basic problem was one of creating a minimum material standard of living for all our people. Today it is one of providing the conditions requisite to the full development and expression of the human personality and to the effective participation of the individual in the life of his community.

### **Must assume leadership**

What we have to reconstruct is not the economy but now, at last, the social order itself. In this task Catholics must not be content, as so often in the past, to be followers merely but must assume leadership. As Catholics we should be especially well prepared to spearhead the struggle to create in America a civilization of quality rather than quantity since we have always held that wealth was not—could not be—an end in itself.

What must be done to reconstruct the social order so as to make it a fitting earthly sojourning place for human beings? Space does not permit a detailed discussion of particular problems and the means for their solution but it is possible to set forth certain fundamental prerequisites to the needed reorientation of our efforts.

First of all, we as Catholics must broaden our sense of social morality to include the realization that social justice requires not only the provision of a living wage but the provision of an appropriate social and physical setting in which to live. What point is there in taking home a wage adequate to buy food, clothes and shelter if one must live in a dirty congested neighborhood,

wasting long hours each day commuting to a distant job, denied effective participation in the making of community decisions, lacking intellectual or cultural stimulation, deprived of any access to nature and unable to walk the streets with safety after dark? Yet many if not most Americans despite their high wages, more than adequate diets, abundant TV sets and new automobiles are in just such a situation. Our concept of what rightfully falls within the sphere of judgment of the informed Catholic social conscience must be expanded to include this kind of problem. Until Catholics feel as guilty about their part in polluting beaches and streams as they do about the failure to pay a living wage, until they come to look upon social disorganization in the local community as affording as great an obstacle to the development of the human personality as a depression, for so long will they be incapable of working toward the establishment of a decent, humane social order.

### **Our conscience & our community**

If we broaden the scope of our social conscience to include all of our community life, we will need also to sharpen our ability to make sound prudential judgments in this sphere. At least as much energy as has been spent by Catholics in studying economics in order to discuss intelligently the operations of the just economy must in the future be devoted to studying sociology, local government, and community planning so that Catholics may become aware of the impact of all that we do or fail to do on the shape of the communities in which we live.

Not only do we as Catholics have an obligation to broaden and sharpen our own social consciences but we must also be prepared to join actively—both as individual Catholics and as Catholic groups—with all those working to make our cities and regions better places in which to live. In the past Catholics have done valuable work in some areas of community social action, though for the most part they have conceived their tasks in isolation from any over-all concern with the community as such.

Needless to say, Catholics have been in the forefront of work to strengthen the family as the fundamental unit of society, though too often they have tended to regard family disorganization as a purely moral problem unrelated to the community environment. Catholics traditionally have taken responsibility for the education of youth through the provision of Catholic schools, though we have lagged behind in the field of adult education and in the development of community cultural facilities generally. Catholics have helped provide remedial aid for the physically and mentally ill through homes and hospitals, yet we have shown little interest in preventive medicine or the problems of mental health. The liturgical movement both consciously<sup>14</sup> and otherwise has served as a focus for the renewal of community life at the parish level, yet Catholics as such have usually paid little attention to general problems of community organization and betterment.

<sup>14</sup>The leaders of the liturgical movement in the United States have traditionally been interested in the relationship of the liturgy to social problems. See Paul B. Marx, O.S.B., *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement*, (The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minn., 1957), and the periodical *Worship*.

In the future Catholics must consciously accept their responsibility for the building of communities fit for human beings to live in. Just as Catholics in the past have been active (though perhaps not to so great an extent as we might have been) in the field of labor-management relations, so now we must become active in the field of community and regional planning in order to check the blights of ugliness, congestion and disorder that stalk so much of our land. We must take an active part in the conservation movement, since we have always re-



garded man as the steward not the master of created things and because of our emphasis on the desirability of continued population growth. Finally, American Catholics must also devote more attention than we have so far to the creation of a more humane international order and to the improvement of the quality of life in the rest of the international community.

America has developed an economy which, despite dislocations and stumbling, has made available to us the means for achieving what measure of the good life can be expected here on earth. Now we have the task not of continuing the largely settled argument over the division of the means available in the affluent society but of ordering them toward the end for which they were given us, the creation of the good society.

# The Supreme Court 1957 - 1958

RICHARD J. CHILDRESS  
& JOHN E. DUNSFORD

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT of the United States did in the 1957-58 term cannot be aptly described in a single phrase. The perspective of history is still lacking. Moreover, a picture of one term of the Court cannot be framed and hung separately. It must be fitted into the montage created by prior and subsequent terms. Even then, it should not be viewed without seeing it as a part of the larger picture of law and social and political life in the nation.

Yet with these reservations granted, it has been apparent that for many years now the most noticeable theme of the court's opinions has been the protection of the individual against government. If the recent term can be characterized at all, a recognition of this theme may provide the essentials.

## Civil liberties

From the latter part of the 19th century until 1937 the judicial protection of the individual primarily took the form of guarding the individual's property and liberty of contract. Toward the end of this period a new trend developed in the Court's holdings, and

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by 1939 the emphasis of the decisions shifted to the protection of the individual's civil liberties.

The new emphasis was noted by Professor Jaffe in 1949: "Of all the areas of the Court's activity the most active has been that of civil liberties. All of the judges have participated in increasing greatly the protection of the individual." The shift of 20 years ago has continued to this day. In an interlude at the beginning of this decade, some proponents of civil liberties complained that the Court was gradually retreating on these issues. But within the past few years, following President Eisenhower's appointments of Chief Justice Warren and Justices Harlan and Brennan, the claim has been made that the civil liberties strain is as strong as ever.

If the goal of protection of the individual was the same both before and after 1937, it is obvious that the philosophies of the two periods differ vastly. Without rehashing the complex imponderables of either, one may note that the Supreme Court has witnessed during this period a considerable realignment of its defenders and attackers. Those who thought the Court intervened too much with legislative solutions of the 30's might claim it does

not quickly enough bridle the legislators of today.

### Judicial activism

Thus, much of the current dispute over the Supreme Court's work is couched in the terms of a debate between judicial activism and judicial self-restraint. An uncritical acceptance of these norms can lead to serious errors, for in some cases (an example might be segregation) the judges must decide substantive questions, which defy the easy application of such categories. Furthermore, it would be a mistake to credit all those who are presently advocating self-restraint for the Court with a theoretical conviction of this position. After all, it is quite human to rationalize self-restraint for positions with which one disagrees and, at the same time, justify activism in agreeable areas.

Writing a decade ago Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., discusses the disagreement within the Court itself over activism and self-denial. He saw in the split on the Court then "the activation of latent differences between the old team of liberal dissenters—Holmes and Brandeis."

"Holmes believed that if the American people wanted to go to hell, he could not see anything in the Constitution to stop them . . . Where Holmes would sustain legislation, though it seem to him 'futile or even noxious,' Brandeis would require it to conform to certain standards of social wisdom. Thus, in a case like *Meyer v. Nebraska*, where Holmes voted to uphold the right of a state to forbid the teaching of German in schools, the two men divided as Frankfurter and Black might divide today."

With this as a background, one may venture the opinion that the 1957 term fits into a series of prior ones which are both activist and oriented to civil liberties. In this context, the latest term is a moderate continuation of the trend. Concurrence with these observations does not obscure the fact that the bulk of decided cases since the trend began are not directly involved with civil liberties.

The Constitution envisions both powers of government and limitations on these powers to protect the individual. There is an obvious tension between the two, for to assert one is normally to limit the other. Since the activities of government undergo constant change to meet new demands and the relationship between the individual and government undergo similar change, the Court is confronted with the problem of applying law to ever new situations. In the past term, the Court considered the individual faced with complex racial discriminations, passport regulations, threatened loss of citizenship, loyalty oaths, and invasion of privacy through wiretapping.

### Rights of Negroes

In the area of racial justice, the past few years have been characterized as much by the firm unanimity of the Supreme Court as it has been by the vacillation of the executive and legislative branches of government.

While the legal philosophy of equal rights has been sufficiently defined, the Negro's attempts to realize the tangible benefits of this philosophy are hedged in by foot-dragging compliance and outright resistance. State and pri-

vate instrumentalities have too often given that grudging obedience to the law which only thwarts and denies it. Long and costly appeals to the Supreme Court are then usually the only alternative.

In the vacuum created by executive inertia on both the national and state levels, the NAACP has become the sole rallying point of Negro striving. In a case coming from Alabama, the Court was faced with the legality of a fatal blow aimed at that organization (*NAACP v. Alabama*, 78 S. Ct. 1163). The attorney General of Alabama, acting under a law requiring the registration of foreign corporations, brought a suit to oust the NAACP from the state. During the course of the proceedings, the court on motion of the state ordered the organization to produce its membership records including names and addresses. When it refused to obey, the NAACP was charged with contempt and fined \$100,000. When the case reached the Supreme Court, it held that the rights of the individual members would be violated under the Fourteenth Amendment if governmental action "although not directly suppressing association, nevertheless carries this consequence." Against the background of economic and physical intimidation which accompanies Negro efforts toward equality in the South, the Court could find no sufficient reason to justify the state's demanding a record of the names.

The Little Rock episode, with all its debilitating consequences, made the big news of the term when a federal district court, on petition of the school board, ordered integration postponed until January, 1961. In an attempt to

shortcut the Court of Appeals, the Negro petitioners sought a writ of certiorari in the Supreme Court. A per curiam opinion denied the request and strongly hinted that the Court of Ap-



peals should handle the matter in time "to permit arrangements to be made for the next school year" (*Aaron v. Cooper*, 78 S. Ct. 1189). The refusal to review at that juncture was clearly correct. Acceptance of the case would have constituted an unjustified use of discretion to suspend proper review procedures and would have supported a totally erroneous picture of the Court as a policeman of policy rather than a tribunal of last resort. At the same time, the complex of developments has further defined the limits of judicial protection of the individual. Whatever comes of the appeal now, it is impossible to overcome the serious setback integration has received from the lower court. Postponement in the circumstances, even if it is now reversed, has stoked the fires of bitterness and fanned the hopes of the South.

In another important matter affecting the Negro community, the Court remanded an indictment for murder in Louisiana on grounds that Negroes had been systematically excluded from grand jury duty. In a parish one-third colored, over a period of 18 years and 36 grand juries, only one Negro had ever been selected—and that by mistake (*Eubanks v. Louisiana*, 78 S. Ct. 970). A decision also reaffirmed

over technical objections the right of Negro employees under the Railway Labor Act to be fairly represented by their union (*Conley v. Gibson*, 78 S. Ct. 99).

### Passports

An outstanding example of the contraction of individual freedom by changing circumstances is the passport problem, dealt with in two decisions this past term. Originating in the 19th century as a request to a foreign government for safe passage of the bearer, the passport has been transformed from a convenience to an absolute necessity if one desires to travel beyond the nation's boundaries. It is presently illegal to leave or enter the country without a valid passport. Foreign travel is thus conditioned on administrative approval.

The Secretary of State, charged with responsibility for issuing the indispensable ticket, had provided that no passport would be issued to Communists, former party members judged to be still acting in furtherance of the interests of Communism, persons engaged in activities supporting the Communist movement under circumstances indicating the party's control or direction, and persons who are believed to be going abroad to engage in activities advancing the Communist movement knowingly and willfully.

Both these regulations and the procedures were spread out before the Court this past term. In one case, two unsuccessful applicants for passports had refused to submit an application stating present or past membership in the Communist party. They contended that the Secretary of State had no

statutory power to compel such information, and further insisted that such power was unconstitutional even if it were given to him by the applicable statutes (*Kent v. Dulles*, 78 S. Ct. 1113). In the other case, the unsuccessful applicant had given the required affidavit, but contested the use of confidential files by the government, alleging that his constitutional right of hearing was denied (*Dayton v. Dulles*, 78 S. Ct. 1127).

In 5-4 decisions, the Court denied the power of the Secretary to make the controverted regulations or to require the affidavit. It did this not on constitutional grounds but by an interpretation of the statutes. At the same time the Court pointed out: "We would be faced with important constitutional questions were we to hold that Congress . . . had given the Secretary authority to withhold passports to citizens because of their beliefs or associations." The issue of confidential information was not treated.

Despite what must be considered unconvincing statutory interpretation the cases achieved some desirable ends. Primarily, they elicited a concession from the Solicitor General that the right to travel is a constitutional one requiring due process of law for its denial. It yet remains to be decided what constitutes the substantive and procedural aspects of this right, but the problem is cast in an entirely different mold from just a few years ago. Then it was commonly accepted that the Secretary of State's discretion was almost limitless. A secondary result is that Congress, at the urging of President Eisenhower, is reconsidering the operation and purposes of the passport.

## Expatriation

Bordering on the ideological boundaries of the passport cases were large questions of the power of the state to wipe out citizenship. In three cases that delved as deeply into fundamental issues as anything decided during the term the court split resoundingly (12 opinions were issued) on the constitutional texture of the right.

The Nationality Act of 1940 revokes the nationality of American citizens performing certain enumerated acts. Petitioners in the three cases had, respectively, voted in a foreign election, received a dishonorable discharge following a court-martial conviction for desertion during wartime, and been conscripted in the Japanese armed forces during World War II, seemingly without any attempts to resist.

Can Congress for any reason abrogate citizenship? The Court agreed that the individual can relinquish his nationality voluntarily, and that Congress can specify certain actions which indicate this relinquishment. But the justices differed widely on what acts properly indicate abandonment.

The majority in *Perez v. Brownell* (356 U. S. 44) concluded that participation in a foreign election justifies the conclusion of expatriation because "the critical connection between this conduct and loss of citizenship is the fact that it is the possession of American citizenship by a person committing the act that makes the act potentially embarrassing to the American Government and pregnant with the possibility of embroiling this country in disputes with other nations." Against this reasoning, the minority urged that the standard

of foreign voting was too broad; that under some circumstances such action need not imply any dilution of allegiance and voluntary abandonment of citizenship. Considerations of foreign policy are not to be balanced against the right of citizenship. The government cannot take away citizenship, the minority concluded, but only accept the fact that an individual has relinquished it.



In *Trop v. Dulles* (356 U. S. 86) the four Justices who had dissented in the *Perez* case were joined by Justice Brennan. Their majority decision was that the petitioner could not be deprived of citizenship because of his desertion and dishonorable discharge. The four believed that loss of citizenship in this manner is cruel and unusual punishment and hence prohibited by the Eighth Amendment. Although he joined the four in voting, Justice Brennan in a separate opinion gave as his reason the remoteness of loss of citizenship to any legitimate purpose in the exercise of the war powers on which he thought the legislation was premised.

The case of conscription into the Japanese army, *Nishikawa v. Dulles* (356 U. S. 129), while hinged on the same fundamental choices that exercised the Court in the other litigations, was decided on the basis of the procedural question of burden of proof. A majority concluded that under the circumstances, mere failure to take any overt action to resist induction into the Japanese army would not suffice as prov-

ing the government's case that the service indicated voluntary relinquishment of citizenship. Because of the importance of the right at issue, the Court said that the burden of proof must rest on the government.

### Loyalty Oaths

Well into the hydrogen age, the hydra-headed problem of loyalty and security continued to clash with the individual's claims of freedom of association and belief.

A group of cases from California tested the constitutionality of a requirement that tax-payers take an oath of loyalty before receiving the benefit of certain exemptions. The oath read, "I do not advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State of California by force or violence or other unlawful means, nor advocate the support of a foreign Government against the United States in event of hostilities." Assuming that the area sought to be embraced in the oath was constitutionally punishable under the doctrine of advocacy of action (rather than of mere abstract doctrine), the majority nevertheless thought that in the context of the whole tax procedure, the California law put on the taxpayer the burden of proving his sworn statement if it were controverted. Hence it would place an impermissible burden of proof on the taxpayer with consequent infringement of his First Amendment rights (*Speiser v. Randall*, 78 S. Ct. 1332; *First Unitarian Church v. County of Los Angeles*, 78 S. Ct. 1350).

While the California cases struck down the loyalty oath as a requirement for tax exemption, two other 5-4 votes

permitted the dismissals of state employees for failure to answer questions regarding membership in Communist organizations. In *Beilan v. Board of Education* (78 S. Ct. 1317) a public school teacher of 22 years experience refused to answer a question about association in 1944 with the Communist Political Association (predecessor to the Communist Party of the United States). He also announced he would refuse to answer "questions of this type" or "questions about political and religious beliefs." His dismissal was based on the grounds of "incompetency," and the Court in holding that the discharge did not violate the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment stressed that no inference of disloyalty was drawn from the refusal to testify. The Court said refusal to answer questions relevant to fitness was itself sufficient to establish the incompetency.

In the case of *Lerner v. Casey* (78 S. Ct. 1311), a subway conductor was dismissed under similar facts, because his refusal to say whether he was presently a Communist cast doubts on his reliability and trustworthiness. The majority pointed out that the state decision was not grounded on the teacher's use of the Fifth Amendment but on his lack of candor and willingness to answer. The minority answer to these conclusions was to underline the consequences of such a dismissal for the individual. They claimed that the one dismissed would be thought disloyal; that such consequences could not be imposed without more adequate procedural safeguards under the Fourteenth Amendment. The dissenters also pointed out that the dismissal came for the

teacher five days after a Fifth Amendment plea before a congressional committee and hence was so enmeshed in that proceeding as to be an improper discharge for the exercise of a constitutional right before a federal body.

### Wiretapping

Wiretapping by the police, which had been held by a 5-4 decision in 1928 not to be an unconstitutional search and seizure or compulsory self-incrimination, came before the Court once again. After the 1928 decision Congress tried to eradicate this threat to individual privacy by the passage of Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act: ". . . no person not being authorized by the sender shall intercept any communication and divulge or publish the existence, contents, substance, purport, effect, or meaning of such intercepted communication to any person. . . ."

This term in *Benanti v. United States* (78 S. Ct. 155) the Court held that this section precludes the use in federal courts of evidence obtained by wiretapping, even though the wiretapping was done by state officials acting under state law. Rejecting the argument that the evidence should be admitted since the State of New York had permitted wiretapping under writs granted by state courts, the Supreme Court expressly held that Section 605 forbids the states passing of such legislation. The anomalous situation now seems to be as follows: state courts are constitutionally free to admit wiretap evidence even though the federal act makes it illegal for anyone to divulge the existence or contents of a message; federal courts may not in any way al-

low the wiretap to be employed toward conviction. Moreover, even if the state courts are free to determine the admissibility of such evidence, the divulgence is a violation of federal law and can make the state official subject to criminal penalty. But this is unlikely, for it has been the policy of the Justice Department not to prosecute violations of the wiretap law—no doubt because the Justice Department itself is involved in considerable wiretapping.

The cases reviewed above do not exhaust the Court's protection of the individual during the past term. Furthermore, the choice of any one theme for a term of Court requires the omission of important decisions in other areas. To illustrate this, one need only note that in the past term the Court handled, in addition to other matters, significant questions of "hot cargo" provisions in collective bargaining contracts, the power of courts to punish for criminal contempt, presidential powers to remove members of quasi-judicial agencies, and state jurisdiction of litigation against business firms in other states.

A judgment that the 1957 term was a moderate continuation of the trend to protect the individual does not constitute a conclusion of the wisdom of each decision. As Professor Paul A. Freund has pointed out: "Not only do civil liberties differ in their quality. In some cases it is far from clear with which side the interests of civil liberty are to be identified." Nevertheless, in the age of automation and mass culture, where the individual seeks to preserve his identity, civil liberties must be a prime concern in any constitutional state.

# New Patterns in American Commuting

NEIL P. HURLEY, S.J.

MODERN INDUSTRIAL society is characterized by daily tides of commuter ebb and flow. The development and continual refinement of mechanical means of transport in the past 60 years have made it possible to sever workplace from dwelling and to convey masses of workers from the community where they live to where they are employed. More than 50 per cent of America's working population spend an average of ten hours a week in shuttling back and forth five days a week on their home-to-work journey. Behind the many commuter jokes<sup>1</sup> is a welter of social problems which are intimately connected with the new ecological patterns which are taking shape in America.<sup>2</sup>

Commuting is not a new sociological phenomenon. What is new is the magnitude of modern commuting habits in a society where more and more families wish the best of two worlds: a green lawn and a suburban cottage coupled

with the advantages of urban employment.<sup>3</sup> The new dimension of commuting problems can best be understood against a brief historical background.

### Three periods

An adequate historical sketch of American commuting patterns could be divided into three periods:

1. The period of mass transit whereby workers were transported from high density housing areas to high density work areas (covering roughly 1900-1920).

2. The period of mass transit, plus railroad commuting to the suburban

<sup>1</sup> Typical of commuter comedy is a recently published book of cartoons: Warren Goodrich, *Change at Jamaica: The Commuter's Guide to Survival*. Vanguard, New York, 1957. The TV comic, Sid Caesar, often exploited the situation of the harassed commuter.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. my article: "New Profile of Industrial America", *America*, 92 (Feb. 5, 1955), pp. 477-9; also "Cities of Tomorrow," *America*, 97 (July 13, 1957), pp. 400-2.

<sup>3</sup> One of the first serious studies on commuting was done by Kate Liepmann: *The Journey to Work*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1944.

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*The author, a student of urban organization, writes from Salzburg, Austria.*

settlements which sprang up along rail lines. This period could be called that of transporting workers from low density and high density areas to high density areas. During the period from 1920-1940 the railroad commuter ticket was as popular as that for the subway, the bus and the streetcar.

3. The period of automobile commuting whereby workers were transported from low density housing areas to low density work areas. In this period mass transit and railroad commuting, though remaining an integral part of American commuting patterns, are in decline. This period began with World War II and is continuing.<sup>4</sup>

### Car rate over birth rate

At the turn of the century there were four times as many railroad locomotives as motor vehicles in operation. After 1920, however, the number of motor vehicles increased significantly, while the number of locomotives began to decrease.<sup>5</sup> To obtain some slight idea of how great an influence the automobile has had in America, it should be noted that since 1930 the motor vehicle has increased five times as rapidly as the nation's population.<sup>6</sup> Nor will this trend reverse itself; the 1975 forecast is that car registration will top 100 million (*i.e.*, a gain of 51 per cent over 1957 figures), while the population will

reach 215 million (*i.e.*, a rise of 27 per cent). The invention of the gas engine, Ford's mass production techniques for selling in large quantities, plus the development of a national highway system have served to scatter industry and population over the breadth of the American landscape. Before the advent of the late 1930s, the early growth years of suburbia, suburbanites walked to railway commuter stations and then, with the rest of the urban worker populace, used mass transit transportation for intra-urban commuting.<sup>7</sup>

Suburbia can only be understood in terms of the automobile; the desire to leave the soot, concrete, crowds and noise of the large cities was always strong among American families whose livelihood came from urban-oriented employment. However the suburban break-away as a marked national phenomenon came only after World War II when the physical means were at hand to realize the urban American's inveterate dream of the luxuries of nature: space, sky and silence. The hard-surfaced route, the elaborate network of main arteries and feeder roads around large and middle-sized cities, the availability of motor vehicles for the average family—all contributed to the deconcentration which, begun in prewar years, rapidly soared from 1947 on. In the first eight post World War II years, suburbia's population increased 43 per cent in contrast with the nation's overall population increase of 11 per cent.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Francis Bello, "The City and the Car," *Fortune*, 56 (October, 1957).

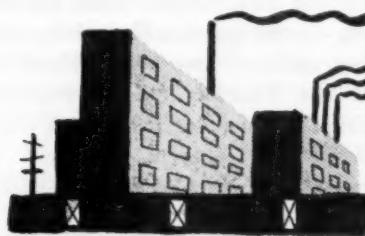
<sup>5</sup> Cf. Leo F. Schnore, "Metropolitan Growth and Decentralization," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 63 (September, 1957), 174.

<sup>6</sup> The rate of increase for motor vehicles has been 150 per cent in recent years; that of population only 30 per cent. Cf. Joseph C. Ingraham, "Autos, Multiplying Faster than Man, Rule, Inconvenience and Frustate Urban Life," *New York Times*, January 28, 1957.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Homer Hoyt, "The Influence of Highways and Transportation in the Structure and Growth of Cities and Urban Land Values," in: Jean Labatut and Wheaton Lane, editors, *Highways in Our National Life*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1950, p. 202.

<sup>8</sup> "The Lush New Suburban Market," *Fortune*, 63 (November, 1953).

As a result of the suburban explosion, new commuting patterns have arisen alongside of the old. The old commuting patterns consisted of traffic arrangements for those who "lived in and worked in" (*i.e.*, for those who both worked and lived in urban centers) and for those who "lived out and worked in," provided that they were within walking distance of a railroad artery. Today two new possibilities have been realized; by means of auto transportation people can "live in and work out" or "live out and work out."



These two new possibilities exist because the automobile has not only made it possible for workers to choose employment at distances away from their home but also for employers to settle in suburban and semi-rural locations with the satisfaction of knowing that a labor pool would find its way to the plant or office. In short the decentralization trend in the U.S.A. has been one of population and industry. Not only can a worker choose a suburban residence without forfeiting urban employment opportunities but employers can seek semi-rural plant sites without losing the possibility of recruiting employees who choose to remain in urban dwellings. The auto facilitates commuting between urban core centers and fringe areas and also between one peripheral

community and another. That is, a suburbanite can choose to work in a suburban plant not within his community. On Long Island, for example, many suburbanites travel fairly long distances to reach the Grumman or Republic airplane production plants at dispersed locations. This is the meaning of "living out and working out."

There are then, today, in America four currents of varying intensity of commuter traffic. There is a heavy current of people who migrate on weekday mornings from the country into the city and at night back out again to the country. At the same time there is a lesser cross-current of urbanites who are employed by decentralized offices and plants. In addition to these two currents there is an intra-urban commuting current made up of those who "live in and work in" and an intra-suburban commuting current made up of those who "live out and work out." The current that presents the least problems is the intra-suburban commuting current since the space factor is not a restrictive one. By means of motor vehicles and car pools, transportation in non-urban areas easily moves workers from low-density housing areas to low-density work areas. Both the place of departure and the terminal point are neither population-dense nor traffic-dense.

#### Jamming traffic

Problems present themselves, however, in the urban areas where the city is either the point of departure (in the "live in, work out" pattern) or the terminal point (in the "live out, work in" pattern) or both the point of departure and the terminal point (as is the

case with the "live in, work in" pattern). In other words, these three commuting patterns will present overlapping traffic difficulties.<sup>9</sup> The incoming suburban commuter current will merge with that of the intra-urban current. Although the temporal duration of the overlapping will be quite short in the case of the urbanite current leaving for its suburban work places, it is possible that difficulties could be presented through partial overlapping (*i.e.*, where a suburbanite has to start work an hour earlier than the urbanite). Thus intra-urban mass transit facilities will often be loaded at certain critical times, due to partial or total overlapping of the three currents which have the urban center as departure point or terminal point or both. To see how aggravated the commuter problem has become as a result of the suburban trend, the following information on 416 suburbs is presented:<sup>10</sup>

Distance of Com- munities	Per cent increase in Population (1940-1950)			Number of Suburbs		
	Residential	Employing	All	Residential	Employing	All
0-10 miles	27.2	16.2	20.8	112	92	204
10-20 miles	40.8	18.2	25.3	61	84	145
20 miles or more	29.4	15.9	18.1	14	53	67

Of the 416 suburbs studied, 187 were residential while 229 were industrial or employing. It will be noted that the greatest increase in population took place in those towns within the 10 to 20 mile ring. This same study indi-

cated that the population increase in towns of less than 10,000 was 100 per cent as compared to 24.4 per cent for those in the 10,000-25,000 category, 15.8 per cent in the 25,000-50,000 category and 11.5 per cent in the 50,000 or more category.<sup>11</sup> The results of this survey seem to indicate that people wanted as little of urban life as was possible in the "dormitory" community they chose; nevertheless, they preferred a reasonable distance which would permit commuting into the city without undue hardship. The automobile has been the chief cause for pushing out the functional boundaries of the metropolitan areas; before World War II the boundary was approximately about 10 miles out; today it is a ring of some 20-25 miles in diameter.<sup>12</sup> The paradoxical result has been a net loss of urban inhabitants as registered for census purposes and an increase of the ur-

<sup>9</sup> Cf. H. Paul Douglass, *The Suburban Trend*, Century, London, 1925; also cf. Leo F. Schnore, "The Functions of Metropolitan Suburbs," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (March, 1956), 453.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Leo F. Schnore, "The Growth of Metropolitan Suburbs," *The American Sociological Review*, 22 (April, 1957), 169.

ban day-time population.

Consider, for example, the mother metropolis of New York. In nine square miles from Central Park to Battery Park at the southern tip of Manhattan Island are to be found some 2.3 million day-time workers, only a small fraction of whom could be considered as

<sup>11</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>12</sup> Amos Hawley, *The Changing Shape of Metropolitan America: Deconcentration Since 1920*. Free Press, Chicago, 1956.

inhabitants. Most live somewhere within the extended sector known as the Greater Metropolitan Area (taking in Westchester, Long Island, Jersey City, Newark as well as New York City proper).<sup>13</sup> Almost one-tenth of the nation's population (15 million) resides within this Greater New York Metropolitan Area. The average daily number of commuters from Westchester County and Long Island (*i.e.*, Nassau and Suffolk Counties) is estimated at 350,000. The city's buses and subways collect over 5 million fares on a normal weekday while in an average year over 75 million vehicles cross the Hudson River between Manhattan and New Jersey and more than 160 million cross the East River on the opposite side. New York, like most American urban centers, is a strange organism which dilates and contracts in a daily rhythm which each morning siphons off the commuting population from the suburban hinterland and at night spews them back into their dormitory residences. Thus the new "home-to-work" patterns swell the day-time populations of major cities such as Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco while draining the central city evenings and on weekends.<sup>14</sup>

### Car vs. train

According to indications, the coming metropolis will be an automobile metropolis with a reduced level of in-

tra-urban rapid transit facilities. Mass transit is suffering because of the popularity of the motor vehicle and because, except for the brief morning and evening rush hours, a costly plant of subway or railroad, requiring extensive operating and maintenance personnel, is lying idle. Competition of the highway prevents increased commutation rates. A Westchester commuter, who travels an average of 20 miles a day for 5 days, pays about \$20 for his railroad commutation ticket. Car transportation from home to the station costs another \$10 and intra-city mass transit fees cost an additional \$6. The same trip by car would cost about \$40 plus a parking fee. A car pool would naturally introduce further savings.<sup>15</sup>

The severe loss of traffic on the nation's railroads has wider implications for the American economy. If passenger deficits continue—\$7,000,000,000 in a dozen years for both long-distance and commuter service—the country's vital freight operations may have to be suspended. A vicious circle has been set in motion. In the past decade long distance passengers on railroads have declined by 40 per cent throughout the U.S. Naturally passenger service has had to be cut; passengers understandably seek other transport means and the last condition of the roads is worse than the former. So critical is the position of American rail service that a Senate Interstate Commerce Subcommittee is holding hearings on the problem.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Cf. "New York: Its Business is Bigness," *Business Week* (October 13, 1956), 133.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Gerald Breese, *Daytime Population of the Central Business District of Chicago*. Chicago University Press, 1949, 267 pp. Also cf. Don Bogue, *The Structure of Metropolitan Community*. Unpublished doctor's thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1949, 564 pp.

<sup>15</sup>Bello, *op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Peter Kihss, "Long-Haul Rail Travel Drops Sharply," *The New York Times*, March 17, 1958, pp. 1, 16.

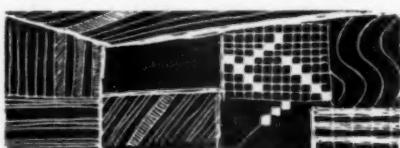
One consequence of these facts is that cities find their streets clogged during the rush hours with motor vehicles. These cities saw their core build up with mass transit as the foundation; the streets were designed mainly for buses, trolley-cars and horse-and-buggy traffic. The fact that Los Angeles never developed such a core for mass transit is the reason why that particular city accepted the rapid circulation possibilities which the automobile afforded from low density housing to low density work areas. Los Angeles spread out, as a result, like an oil stain till today its expansiveness is legendary. Of 600,000 daily commuters to Los Angeles an astonishing 480,000 make it through the traffic in 320,000 cars.<sup>17</sup> Under such conditions, typical of most American cities, municipal transit companies will continue to remain financially ill. The average American uses public transit only 54 times a year today as compared to 115 times in the late 1920s.<sup>18</sup> The only hope for municipal transit companies turns on the pitifully low average speed of motor vehicles in intra-urban sectors. Starting from the busiest corner in any large American city and traveling outward over the most heavily used artery, a motorist can average only 20 miles per hour during the rush hour.<sup>19</sup> If city transit companies could raise their average mileage per hour a mile or two they could attract commuters and enhance earning power.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. "Metropolitan Transit," *Time*, April 18, 1955, p. 96.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Bello, *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup>A study of varying motoring speeds within city limits during the rush hour showed that in only three cities was the average speed as low as 16 miles per hour, Boston, Saint Louis and New Orleans.

However, most cities are remodelling with the hope of furnishing adequate intra-city expressways for automobile traffic. In this way they can take advantage of the government's 50 billion dollar highway-construction program seeking to link large centers of population with one another.<sup>20</sup> The automobile holds the place the railroad did earlier. It is to be expected, consequently, that the future form of American cities will be shaped largely by provisions for auto traffic.<sup>21</sup> In other words the "home-to-work" pattern will



be one of increasing long hauls by private auto, decreasing long hauls by railroad and continuing short hauls on intra-city rapid transit lines. If the daytime population, especially in the downtown business sections, remains high and wider lanes and elevated expressways are introduced to handle auto congestion, then perhaps American cities will witness a vertical development of office buildings to accommodate the working population and a horizontal development of avenues and arteries to accommodate the vehicles necessary to transport this working population to and fro. In short, it is the dream of city planners such as Lewis Mumford and Frank Lloyd

<sup>20</sup>Cf. "Cities as Long as Highways—That's America of the Future," *U. S. News & World Report*, April 5, 1957, p. 27 ff.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. Tunnard and H. H. Reed, *American Skylines: The Growth and Form of our Cities and Towns*. Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1953.

Wright that the "city efficient," based on heavy traffic and commerce, may give way to the "city beautiful," based on human ecological norms.

After all, commuting is an important function of modern industrial life; as such it should be geared to more humane living.<sup>22</sup> Looked at from the viewpoint of business and the domestic welfare of the family it is a positive function; from the viewpoint of the individual commuter it is, however, only a negative function in which frustration and fatigue play a large role.

### Escape to Shangri-La

"Commutensions" may have seriously disruptive effects on family happiness, according to Dr. Fred Brown, chief psychologist at Mount Sinai Hospital, New York City.<sup>23</sup> An impulse to get away from the city and to create a Shangri-La in the suburbs may be more than a desire for fresh air, space and better schools. It might, the doctor suggested, be the product of the father's hidden desire to avoid the normal household responsibilities. Sons, separated from their fathers because of his long absence and "emotional distance" from the home, may rebel against a "pseudo-

matriarchal" influence and express themselves in aggressive masculinity and eventual delinquency. In addition, the father's irritable or detached reaction to the mother's complaints about the childrens' behavior during the day may lead them to feel that the father is either uninterested or is "easy-going." Drinking by the parents—the father on the way home to escape his business tensions, the mother to prepare herself for "the daily reunion problem"—communicates to adolescents "the subtle, underlying factors of instability," Dr. Brown claimed. He counseled wives not to present a "martyred reaction" to their returning husbands and not to confront them immediately with an extensive list of problems. For their part, husbands should leave their business tensions behind them, as much as possible. "Let the father listen," advised Dr. Brown. "Let him feel himself into the situation quietly and deal with one problem intensively."

Speed and congestion have always been part of the commuting pattern. It is doubtful that this will ever be radically changed. Instead of human bodies huddled in a subway car or bus we have today Fords and Chevrolets running bumper to bumper on city lanes slowly making their way for the open highways which lead to suburbia, the reward which makes the game of commuting "worth the candle." Notwithstanding the immense problems of modern commuting patterns, man can reduce the frictions which commuting introduces and which often lead to the depersonalization so dangerous in "mass-movement" phenomena. The response to America's new commuting challenge will be anxiously awaited.

<sup>22</sup>New York Times, March 28, 1958.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Leo F. Schnore, "The Separation of Home and Work: A Problem for Human Ecology," *Social Forces*, 32 (May, 1954), 336-343; Chauncy Harris, "Suburbs," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49 (July, 1943), 6; Graham Taylor, *Satellite Cities*, Appleton, New York, 1950; Amos H. Hawley, *Human Ecology*, Ronald, New York, 1950; Walter Martin, *The Rural-Urban Fringe*, University of Oregon Press, Eugene, Ore., 1953; Johann Schasching, S.J., "Soziologie der Pendler," *Der Grosse Entschluss*, 12 Jahrgang (April, 1957), pp. 313-316; le Corbusier, *Propos d'Urbanisme*. Editions Bourrelier, Paris, 1946.

# Books

**CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION.** By John U. Nef. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 164 pp. \$4.

John U. Nef, chairman of the Committee of Social Thought at the University of Chicago, was chosen to deliver the second series of Wiles Lectures at the Queen's University in Belfast. In these lectures he was given the opportunity of exploring the non-economic origins of industrial society, which has long been the field of his scholarly research. Continued investigation and reflection, he tells us in the preface, convinced him that "it was mainly the human spirit that created industrialism as we find it."

Professor Nef treats such subjects as the movement toward quantitative precision, toward modern science, toward quantitative economy, modern technology and greater clarity. In terms of personal intellectual biography, Professor Nef's groping from a strictly economic inquiry into the origins of industrial civilization to a broadly cultural search, is an interesting and encouraging example of how the sincere inquirer widens his search to include all aspects of man's life in the past.

For some time general historians have done in a rough way what Professor Nef approaches in these lectures: showing how a certain attitude of mind, a set of sociological changes, a new set of moral standards and a breakdown of old institutions prepared Western society for industrialization. Economic historians have lagged behind general historians and have concentrated on narrowly economic factors to explain a phenomenon that is basically cultural and spiritual rather than economic. It is heartening to have an economic historian bring his expert knowledge to the wider area of intellectual and cultural history as the basis underlying economic and political history. A curious and a healthy reaction from the history fostered

by classical economists and Marxists! Professor Nef's lectures open the door to a wide area of inquiry which we hope he and many of his colleagues will enter to continue their research into the intellectual, cultural, social and political factors which are all part of the civilization which we know as industrial.

THOMAS P. NEILL  
Saint Louis University

**CHRISTIANITY AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.** By D. L. Munby. St. Martin's Press, New York, ix, 290 pp. \$5.

Mr. Denys Munby, a Lecturer in Economics at Aberdeen University, Scotland, was invited to give a series of lectures at Union Theological Seminary, New York; it is the revised version of these lectures which is now published in this most useful and stimulating book.

First, he sets forth general principles, the Christian principles of universal validity governing man and society derived from the natural law, as well as the presuppositions of the economists, most of them, (apart from Lerner and Schumpeter) representatives of the British tradition. Then he takes up different problems—wealth and poverty, full employment, the price mechanism, the place of the business man, workers and their organizations, state activity in the economic field, the international scene—analyzing them and, as far as is possible, showing where choices (and hence moral judgments) are to be made. He rightly stresses that in some cases clear moral choices are involved, while in others (because "Christian moral and social principles were formulated in qualitative terms, and did not need the quantitative application that is inevitable in dealing with the economic problems of today") there is no direct moral issue but "what is socially and morally acceptable will determine the way these issues are decided."

All the questions are discussed in the context of the British economy, and even here not all the important matters have been dealt with, as there is no mention of agriculture nor of industrial relations and problems of management. But this does not diminish the value of a book where real problems are faced and discussed in terms of the Christian view of man, a book which sets a standard of achievement which cannot but hearten all who are working for the establishment of a Christian social order.

JOHN FITZSIMONS  
Liverpool, England

**DOCUMENTS OF MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT.** Ed. by T. E. Utley and J. Stuart MacIver. Cambridge University Press, New York, 276 pp. \$3.75.

Replacing Professor Michael Oakeshott's *Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe* (1939), this book groups texts illustrating: Representative Democracy, Communism, Papal Political Theory, Romantic Authoritarianism (i.e. Nazism and Fascism, given only six pages since "their influence is negligible today") and Protestant Political Thought. The section introductions are adroit and illuminating. The principal complaint would be the small size of the book with a resulting paucity of selections.

**THE PRAISE OF PLEASURE: Philosophy, Education, and Communism in More's Utopia.** By Edward Surtz, S.J. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 246 pp. \$4.75.

A very great deal has been written on More's *Utopia* in the last few decades; scholarship has established the work as a much more solid and penetrating philosophical and social document than it was formerly taken to be. Craig Ring Walt Thompson's work on irony as a dimension in the writing of Erasmus and More has increasingly enabled commentators to see beneath the surface of the *Utopia* and has saved them from such absurd interpretations as have made it popular fare in communist Russia. It is R. W. Chambers' study of More, moreover, that has pioneered most fruitfully in revealing the essential irony of the work in the context

of contemporary historical, economic, social and religious conditions. But not even the work of Chambers has entirely obviated rather perverse misinterpretations of the *Utopia*, as Russell Ames' *Citizen Thomas More and His Utopia* has demonstrated. It would seem to me that a serious reader would have to be perverse indeed to continue to misread the *Utopia* after the two closely reasoned and carefully documented works on it by Edward Surtz—*The Praise of Wisdom* (Loyola University Press, 1957) and his more recent *The Praise of Pleasure*.

Chambers had previously established the central point that More scores in the *Utopia*: how far short contemporary Christian Europe came from fulfilling even the incomplete but rational ideal of perfection of his Utopians. In both his books Father Surtz throws the whole discussion into a much deeper historical and philosophical perspective.

In *The Praise of Wisdom* Father Surtz discussed the religious and moral problems and backgrounds of the *Utopia*. Here 78 of the 246 pages are devoted to the problem of pleasure as a part of the Utopian ethic. Father Surtz is the first scholar to have made sense of this facet of the *Utopia*. His wide knowledge of traditional and contemporary rhetorical practice has enabled him to discern what More is talking about in the passage on pleasure.

I suppose the part of this book, however, that will be most interesting to readers of SOCIAL ORDER is the section on communism in the *Utopia*. Here more than anywhere else, perhaps, we need the full context of the history of the question and More's own personal life and complete writings to arrive at a satisfactory interpretation of this central feature of the *Utopia*. It is this kind of information that Father Surtz provides. His own conclusions are that from all the evidence available (within and outside the *Utopia*) Thomas More was inclined to think that ideally property held in common would be the best social arrangement but that, men being the imperfect creatures they are, some kind of private property seemed more practical, but a private property administered under the dictates of Christian charity and in the spirit of the common

life. Father Surtz is also of the opinion that, as is revealed in some of his controversy with Luther, More inclined to the Scotist view that private property is a right not based on natural law but rather on positive human law.

Be that as it may, this book should make impossible the kind of callow reading of the *Utopia* that permits the kind of citation recently encountered by this reviewer in a serious doctoral dissertation in sociology, where the author listed More with unconditional defenders of communism. Father Surtz's study should make any such naive reading of the *Utopia* obsolete.

M. B. MCNAMEE, S.J.  
Saint Louis University

**COLORED MINORITIES IN BRITAIN:**  
*Studies in British Race Relations Based on African, West Indian and Asiatic Immigrants.* By Sydney Collins. Lutterworth, London, 239 pp. 21s.

The presence in Great Britain of a small proportion of colored people ought not to be a "problem" and it would not look like one but for the recent concentrated immigration from the West Indies. Sydney Collins restores perspective by including Chinese and Moslem (Yemenite and Somali) communities in his survey.

The book represents field research by an Edinburgh University lecturer in social anthropology, who is himself a West Indian. His conclusion that "at present the racial situation is well in hand" can therefore be accepted with confidence.

Some generalizations emerge but more significant is the variety of experience, often due to quite fortuitous or personal factors, which colored people encounter in Great Britain. On Tyneside, for instance, Negroes are more readily tolerated than Moslems; in Lancashire Chinese are better liked than West Indians; while in the Welsh town he studied, Dr. Collins found extreme prejudice against Negroes and Moslems alike.

Acceptance is partly a matter of time. The Tyneside Negro community is a long-established one and has not received a sudden influx as in Lancashire—where the Chinese are the oldtimers. Old memories can be bitter. Dr. Collins traces selective

prejudice on Tyneside back to the unemployment riots of the 1930s in which Moslems (but not Negroes) took part, while in Wales both communities rioted against the whites.

He is illuminating also on the attitudes of the colored people themselves. Somalis want to go home when they have made enough money; most others come to stay. The Chinese are a settled community in Britain, although entirely oriented towards their homeland. West Indians feel themselves British and desperately want to "belong."

The Moslems take such pride in self-sufficiency that, until recently, they refused welfare benefits. For them religion is a living bond, whereas West Indians show little interest in churches.

Mixed marriages are generally successful. Dr. Collins quotes many instances of the devotion of white wives to colored husbands, for whose sake they often suffer estrangement from their families.

The author believes that integration can be greatly eased by sponsorship and social planning. The former is exemplified by the shipping company which for 50 years has taken the Lancashire Chinese under its wing, and the latter by the enlightened housing policy in Tyneside.

White immigrants, no less than colored, prove indigestible or unacceptable according to the attitude the British adopt even before they know anything about them. Dr. Collins contrasts the refusal of some British miners to have Italians in their pits with the organized welcome extended to the Hungarian refugees, which threw "a mantle of acceptance over the whole integrating process."

GABRIEL GERSCH  
New York, N. Y.

**SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES ON BEHAVIOR.**  
Edited by Herman D. Stein and Richard Cloward. Free Press, Chicago, xix, 666 pp. \$7.50.

In practice as well as in education, social work draws content and concepts from many disciplines, such as psychology, psychiatry, economics, anthropology and sociology. Although the body of knowledge accumulated by research and experience in

social work itself and the skills which have been developed in dealing with people and their problems are considerable, professional social work will always depend on the substantive knowledge which the social sciences contribute. In its eagerness to acquire professional status, social work broke away too completely from the social sciences; now, with better judgment, it is returning to a recognition of the necessity of knowledge from the social sciences. The skills and techniques of a profession are essential, but these cannot operate in a vacuum. Professional social work, whose material cause is man in his totality, has assumed a large responsibility; the fulfillment of its purposes in society will demand far more extensive knowledge than social work now possesses, for the more complex our society, the greater the need for an understanding of the cultural and environmental influence which play a part in creating as well as solving social problems.

This Reader in Social Science for Social Work and Related Professions, which Professors Stein and Cloward of the faculty of the New York School of Social Work and former social work practitioners have edited, will undoubtedly stimulate practitioners to broaden and deepen their views of people and problems confronting them. Of themselves, the excellent contributions by Margaret Mead on the "Contemporary American Family as an Anthropologist Sees It," and "The Negro Family in the United States" by E. Franklin Frazier, would make *Social Perspectives on Behavior* valuable reading.

A. H. SCHELLER, S.J.  
Saint Louis University

**INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN AUSTRALIA.** By Kenneth F. Walker. Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 389 pp. \$7.50.

This is the first attempt to present a large-scale analytic treatment of Australian industrial relations as resulting from the interaction of many economic, technological and socio-political forces.

After outlining the arbitration systems, the author closely examines a number of

industries, setting out their pattern of organization, their method of regulation and their employer-employee relations.

It will be of particular interest to the Catholic reader to see the broad scope of management-union cooperation in some industries, notably in the furniture industry. The comparatively brief treatment of some matters is a little tantalizing; one such point that requires further elucidation is the influence of the Communist Party in initiating or prolonging strife in the coal, meat, metal and transport industries. Another phenomenon that deserves further treatment is the considerable recent growth of incentive and profit-sharing schemes.

The book is well organized, painstakingly and clearly written. Professor Walker of the University of Western Australia has achieved a high degree of scientific detachment.

W. C. SMITH, S.J.  
Institute of Social Order  
Melbourne

**THE MIND OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON.** By Saul K. Padover. Harper, New York, 461 pp. \$6.50.

Patterned on his earlier collections of Jefferson, Madison and Washington, Professor Padover has allowed the paradoxical Hamilton to paint his own portrait in these significant selections from his private and public papers.

Included are letters which reveal the writer's keenness of intellect, the restlessness and petulance of his highly sensitive nature, so evidently in need of security, direction and genuine affection. Most of the book is concerned with Hamilton's major contributions to the political theory of the American Revolution, the framing and adoption of the Constitution, the inauguration of sound and enduring fiscal and economic policies and the charting of the role which he envisioned for the United States in foreign affairs. Save for occasional reference, *The Federalist* is omitted because of its ready availability.

From the introductory biographical sketch, one gets a distinct impression of Dr. Padover's personal predilection for Jefferson over his traditional anti-democratic arch-rival. The Hamilton that

emerges from the skillfully-turned phrases is definitely not lovable, although many of his ideas and policies are credited with a political prescience which did much to launch the young republic. The stable, conservative governmental structure which he advocated appears as a compensation for the instability, disorder and insecurity of his own life. According to Professor Padover, Hamilton accepted the Hobbesian verdict of a basically corrupt human nature requiring strong, centralized political authority. He considered the wealthy and educated "few" a safer depository of power than the equally selfish common people. Thus Hamilton performed a kind of negative service by prodding the advocates of democracy into clarifying and defending their ideas intelligently.

Those who accept the author's bias will agree that Hamilton was perhaps a great American but not a great man—a reversal of Woodrow Wilson's analysis.

MOTHER PATRICIA BARRETT, R.S.C.J.  
Maryville College  
Saint Louis

**HUMANIST VERSUS ECONOMIST: The Economic Thought of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.** By William F. Kennedy. University of California Press. 96 pp.

In the less specialized intellectual milieu of the 19th century notable British literary figures were prone to write seriously on economic topics. 20th century economists as a rule are indifferent to these historic documents in the fringes of their field. Students of literature, interested as they may be, are not equipped to follow out the theoretical ramifications of these documents. This stimulating volume, therefore, fills a gap in the history of economic doctrines and should be welcome to students in both fields.

The economic writings of Coleridge occur chiefly in *The Statesman's Manual, Church and State, Lay Sermons and Table Talk*. Professor Kennedy presents them as applications of Coleridge's ideas of reason (transcendental truth) and understanding (empirical truth). Since social institutions are based upon ideas of reason discoverable by historical investigation, Cole-

ridge occupies a position as pioneer in the so-called historical and institutional disciplines of the science. However, the poet made no attempt to formulate a methodology but thought of economics as a legislative and moral tool. As he says, "There are no theorems in political economy—but problems only." For instance, there was the problem of the post-war depression of 1817. Although Ricardo and other authorities were for governmental retrenchments, Coleridge came out for maintaining governmental expenditures at a high level in order to correct deficiency of demand.

Again, Coleridge confronted the problem of business cycles as a normal peacetime phenomenon. At intervals of 12 or 13 years occur "certain periodical revolutions of credit" caused by the gradual change in the attitudes of business men from "circumspection" to the indulgence of "blinding passions and blind practices" similar to "the wicked lunacies of the gaming table." The cause of business cycles is chiefly irreligion and the cure a return to the practices of Christian morality. Professor Kennedy remarks (with a tinge of humor, one suspects) that this "spiritual explanation of the cycle has not been found very fruitful by succeeding analysts."

On the problem of state intervention, in commerce Coleridge was generally against it; in agriculture he was for it. And he felt that the state should interfere in any business or agricultural operation when the "health, strength, honesty, and filial love" of workmen were in jeopardy. He also supported strongly the first child labor legislation.

Professor Kennedy organizes his material to show that the great British economists Mill, Marshall and Keynes synthesize the two traditions that stem from Bentham and Coleridge, the traditions of conservatism and humanism. To a reader in the field of literature it is exciting to find that Coleridge stands up so well in a competent scholarly volume written by an economist for professional readers.

There seems to be only one serious error in the treatment. Though a careful study has been made of the works of all other chief figures, Bentham, who occu-

pies in the volume a position second only to Coleridge, is dismissed without reference to source material. It may have been impossible to be equally thorough with Bentham, even aside from the fact that much essential material is still in manuscript. But reading a sound modern commentary on the subject, for instance Baumgardt's *Bentham and the Ethics of Today*, would have enabled Professor Kennedy to qualify such statements as "Bentham assumes that the effects of an activity upon the agent are of no consequence" and "His philosophy has no place for self-reflection." However, where simplification is necessary in the performance of the author's manifold purpose, it is perhaps captions to make much of these and one or two other instances of oversimplification.

JOHN TYREE FAIN  
University of Florida

**PRINTERS AND TECHNOLOGY.** By Elizabeth Faulkner Baker. Columbia University Press, New York, xviii, 545 pp. \$7.

**SAMUEL GOMPERS: AMERICAN STATESMAN.** By Florence Calvert Thorne. Philosophical Library, New York, xi, 175 pp. \$3.75.

**LABOR ECONOMICS AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.** By Robert D. Leiter. Barnes & Noble, New York, xvi, 320 pp. \$1.95.

Dr. Baker's book is sub-titled "A History of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union." It is a scholarly documentary crowning her long interest and research in the effects of changing equipment and methods on the relations between unions and workers and collective-bargaining in the printing industry. Starting with a summary chapter on 500 years of printing, the study moves to the history of early American organizations in the trade, to the birth of the Pressmen's union and the long record of adjustments and accommodations to change, on to a description of the union and its problems and prospects in mid-1956. With several historical appendices, an excellent bibliography and the knowledgeable analysis

of one who is a first-rate labor economist, long interested in her subject of technology and the printing trades, this is a solid book that will be—or ought to be—a model of objective and scholarly research in the field of labor unionism.

Miss. Thorne is the remarkable lady who called on Sam Gompers in 1910 in connection with a thesis she was preparing at the University of Chicago and who stayed to be his personal research assistant and aid at AFL headquarters until he died. Among other chores, she assisted him in the writing of his autobiography, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*. She is eminently qualified to write this study, which sketches, largely through direct quotations from his writings in the *American Federationist*, his reports at AFL conventions and his public addresses, the basic ideas of Gompers' trade union philosophy. It gives in manageable compass a very good notion of Gompers' convictions on the place and role of labor unions in the community, voluntarism, his anti-socialism, the subsidiary role of economic and professional organizations in society.

Robert Leiter, author of *The Musicians and Petrillo* and *The Teamsters Union*, has produced a well rounded revision of the labor union volume in the "College Outline Series." This, Number 81 in the Barnes & Noble series, is a reworking of the older title, *Labor Problems and Trade Unionism*. It brings up to date the highlights of labor problems, union organizations, collective bargaining and social security. It is well done.

MORTIMER H. GAVIN, S.J.

**THE HIGHFIELDS STORY.** By Lloyd W. McCorkle, Albert Elias and F. Lovell Bixby. Henry Holt, New York, x, 182 pp. \$3.50.

What problem today presents more of a challenge than juvenile delinquency? What could be of greater interest than a unique but successful means of coping with it? Such a plan is described in this book written by two of the superintendents at Highfields in collaboration with the Director of Correction and Parole of New Jersey's Department of Institutions and Agencies. In interesting style the pur-

pose, the implementation and the effects of the program are explained, as well as the philosophy of the project (to this reviewer the significant chapter) and the over-all picture as viewed by those responsible for the venture and the boys themselves.

One Highfields technique merits special commendation: that of guided interaction, a combination of psychological and sociological approaches, the former an attempt to change the self-concept of the boy from a delinquent to a non-delinquent, the latter to reverse the process by which the group induces a boy into delinquency and compels him to continue in it.

This program proved so successful that the New Jersey legislature authorized the Department of Institutions and Agencies to establish similar facilities throughout the state.

Gratifying as is this exposition to the criminologist whose primary objective must be the reformation of the delinquent, it is equally beneficial to the psychologist concerned with the dynamics of human behavior, to the sociologist absorbed in the ways groups can affect the individual and, finally, to every enlightened citizen concerned with salvaging the precious youthful segment of our population.

SISTER LORETTA MARIA, S.C.  
College of Saint Elizabeth  
Convent Station, N. J.

**EDUCATION FOR PLANNING: CITY,  
STATE AND REGIONAL.** By Harvey  
S. Perloff. John Hopkins Press, Balti-  
more, 189 pp., index. \$3.50.

This book raises the basic issues involved in educating our much-needed future planners. Keen analysts and reflective synthesists are called for—but what of their formation? As Mr. Perloff points out, there are no "pat" answers. However, his general thesis that a planner should be a "generalist-with-a-specialty" is sound. This book deserves the careful consideration of the professionals and non-professionals alike: the former will gain a new perspective of their work, the latter will realize that planning is much more than drawing subdivisions on paper.

Much experience, as well as study and experimentation, are sensed throughout

this little volume. The key to much of the experience is found in Part Three, which outlines the University of Chicago experiment in "Education and Research in Planning" from 1947 to 1956. Part Three, written in conjunction with Mr. Perloff's associate, John R. B. Friedman, provides a valuable review of a significant effort to set up a comprehensive planning curriculum.

A fine historical outline of planning in the United States, footnotes, course outlines, career opportunities and bibliography make *Education for Planning* an excellent reference volume. Part Two lacks the clarity of expression of the other two parts and might well be re-edited if the volume is reprinted.

JOHN E. PAGE, S.J.  
Saint Paul's College  
Winnipeg, Canada

**A PROFILE OF PRIMITIVE CULTURE.** By Elman R. Service. Harper, New York, xiv, 474 pp. \$6.

As an improvement upon books of readings, this effort to recount the story of 20 cultures has the makings of a very good book on cultural anthropology. Four classifications are utilized: Bands, Tribes, Primitive States and Modern Folk Societies. The bibliographies are complete and generous, some selections turning out better than others. Although heavily relying upon other works, it is all written by a single author, thus providing a style and continuity which avoids the pick-and-choose atmosphere of a book of readings.

Among the Bands, the story of the possibly extinct Yahgan of South America lends an air of mystery to our knowledge of what were until recently considered as current peoples. The selection of Tribes is very well balanced, ranging from the exotic Tahitians of Polynesia to the Nuer of the Upper Nile River, so well studied by Evans-Pritchard. Among the Primitive States, there are good accounts of the Maya of Mexico, the Inca of Peru and the Ashanti of West Africa. In deference to the recent trend in anthropology to consider folk or peasant societies, we have a study of Chan Kom: A Village in Yucatan, a section based almost entirely on

the Redfield and Villa Rojas materials, a fascinating description of a Chinese Peasant Village, and A Village in India.

This book should prove to be invaluable for the student who seeks not only the theoretical structure in anthropology, but who needs also adequate samples of different kinds of cultures illustrating the problems of social and cultural anthropology. Probably it will therefore find its way as a useful textbook, although for more careful analysis, the original studies are always desirable.

ALLEN SPITZER  
Saint Louis University

**THE SMALLER DRAGON: A Political History of Vietnam.** By Joseph Buttinger. Praeger, New York, 535 pp. \$6.

In October, 1954, Joseph Buttinger went to Vietnam to assist refugees coming to Saigon from the north which had been taken over by the communists after the Geneva Conference. The author confesses that he shared the opinion of most foreign observers who believed that the new government in the south, headed by the patriot, Ngo-Dinh-Diem, could not hold out for more than a year or so.

He was surprised by the intelligence and strength the new regime manifested. "Now I felt that I had never been more wrong than when I anticipated an early communist victory over Ngo-Dinh-Diem." Buttinger's experiences in Vietnam from October to December, 1954, induced him to undertake preparation of a book that would outline the present situation of the country and assess its prospects.

The first chapter was written with this objective in mind. But the work steadily changed as it progressed, so that the completed volume is a detailed history of Vietnam from its prehistoric beginnings down to the consolidation of French control in 1900. The subsequent 50 years are reviewed in a summary chronology of less than 50 pages. Mr. Buttinger, however, announces in his preface that he is at work on a second volume that will cover this period in detail.

The author's decision to modify his initial resolution was wise. In the first place, Vietnam of the 20th century can

hardly be understood without some knowledge of its past. Moreover, a writer who is neither an historian nor a Vietnamese scholar will be better prepared for the difficult work of handling the tangled threads of events in the past 50 years after an apprenticeship that involves mastering the nation's background. Finally, as will be noted later, a few years' delay will give scholars an opportunity to re-appraise recent events and evaluate new materials that will undoubtedly be forthcoming with the close of the French era.

Buttinger divides his study into five periods. The first deals with the pre-history of the area, its geography and population. As most people know today, Vietnam is a one-thousand mile strip of land along the South China sea, spreading out at either end into a fertile delta and backed through almost its entire length by a range of mountains. Its people even at the dawn of history showed traits that related them to the Indonesian peoples of the south and with certain Mongoloid groups to the north and west. These facts, which seem to be adequately substantiated, belie the Vietnamese traditional belief that their ancestors came from Tibet. However, the claim espoused by Buttinger that early Vietnamese were great seafarers seems exaggerated. Certainly they were out-sailed by their Indonesian cousins to the south.

History proper begins with the Chinese suzerainty (207 B. C. to 939 A. D.), since the earlier kingdoms of Van Lang and Au Lac are surrounded with legend from which fact can hardly be extracted. The thousand years of Chinese domination were marked by an educational process that introduced metal artifacts and numerous technologies in water control and rice culture, in addition to the heritage of literature, philosophy and public administration which China carried into all her outlying provinces. The years could not achieve assimilation. Differences of language and culture to which the Vietnamese peasants clung fostered the spirit of independence which constantly fought against domination and finally broke free during the final weak years of the T'ang dynasty and the chaos of the succeeding "Five Dynasties."

Buttinger deals with the 900 years of independence as a single unit. Actually it was broken in the beginning of the 15th century by a brief interregnum of Chinese Ming domination and, toward its close, by the Vietnamese conquest of a great kingdom to the south, Champa. This triumph ended almost 500 years of incessant warfare with the Chams and substantially consolidated the territory of Vietnam as it is known today.

The following 350 years were a period of almost complete external peace. But the country was torn internally by dynastic wars that kept it divided and weak throughout most of this period, and the final century was further troubled by the steady pressure of European colonial efforts. The first internal struggle was an effort of a military family, the Mac, to usurp the imperial position of the Le dynasty. The second pitted two rival dynasties, both claiming to rule as viceroys of the Le: the Trinh in the north and the Nguyen in the south. The triumph of the latter family was achieved only with French intervention.

Earlier visits of Europeans, save for missionaries, had been transient, although the Portuguese and the Dutch had maintained factories in the country for considerable periods. The major invasion came in mid-19th century when France used the persecution of Christians as a pretext for seizing a hold on the country. Buttinger's treatment of this period is the most important section of his work; he was able to use invaluable documentary material published in 1955 and 1956 by Georges Taboulet. These volumes throw new light upon the motives that inspired French colonial aspirations in Indo-China.

Buttinger demonstrates sure grasp of the massive library of Vietnamese history. It is likely that he will encounter greater difficulty with the period to be treated in his second volume. This is characterized by the sharp rise of Vietnamese nationalism and the more widespread use of the Vietnamese language. Books, magazines and newspapers in the vernacular will be of great importance for an understanding of the tangled political issues that mark this period. It may not be out of place to suggest that the collaboration of a com-

petent Vietnamese historian will open to the author an immensely valuable body of material for his work. The calibre of his first volume warrants the hope that he will be able to do an equally competent job with the second.

CAO-LY-CHA  
Saigon, Vietnam

#### FREE SOCIETY AND MORAL CRISIS.

By Robert Cooley Angell. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor. 252 pp. \$6.

In this book Professor Angell dares to be all the things that a social scientist is not supposed to be. He is *reformistic* because he has a deep moral concern for the preservation of democratic society and the common values it embodies. He employs deductive reasoning wherever he thinks he can find useful information to explain his area of study. *He is even a system builder* in the sense that he works out an "anatomy of the moral order" and shows how its structural segments possess or lack articulation.

It is refreshing to find such daring in a man who remains throughout his study a stubborn social scientist. Certainly Angell has a thesis; it is that the moral integration of a society can be achieved or restored by the rational effort of its members. Still, there are many "cons" as well as "pros" among the research data he assembles in the discussion of his thesis. The book is not original research but a kind of synthesis of the research findings pertinent to his thesis.

He focuses precisely on that area of human conduct, the moral order, from which many of his colleagues shy away, and before which they seem to exhibit a schoolboy's awkward embarrassment. He has no scientific scruples or inhibitions about using the words *good* and *evil*. Indeed, he maintains that morals and values constitute factual data just as basic, reliable and "hard" as data on matters like social classes or political preferences. He even uses the term "moralization" instead of socialization when it helps to express the process he is describing.

The old problems of "dynamics" and "statics" run like a connecting thread through this treatise. The shifting of oc-

cupation, the change of residence, the restlessness of people are accompanied by all manner of frustrations in our urban industrialized democracies. Equilibrium, adjustment and readjustment, the "steady state" of society and culture, are concepts frequently employed by the author. The goal of change is the restoration of order, of moral order, by means of the moral integration of the total free society.

An important aspect of this book is its own inner consistency and balance. It performs the difficult task of combining the negative and the positive points of view. The problems of deviation from moral norms are starkly and realistically portrayed; they do not, however, leave us with a sense of doom and of pessimism. The positive and the possible measures

toward moral integration are discussed enthusiastically yet they do not leave us with a feeling that all is well with the world.

The key concept in Angell's work lies in the system of common values that are said to underlie any functioning society. This is the essential ingredient "that keeps the society from splitting wide open." Values are not random; they are organized in the moral order and they in turn help to organize the norms, institutions and laws. If these elements of the moral order are adequate and compatible and if the people in the society incorporate them into their behavior, the result is moral integration.

JOSEPH H. FICHTER  
Loyola University  
New Orleans, La.

# LETTERS

## Medical economics

I read Father Brown's "The Economic Future of Medical Practice," in the June number with a great deal of interest. Permit me to say that in my judgment it is one of the clearest expositions of the issues relating to the economic side of medical practice that I have seen. It is a real contribution to thought in this field—a field in which a great deal of thought is needed.

NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK  
Director

Department of Social Security  
AFL-CIO

\*

## Community survey

Congratulations on the most practical article: Father Kurth's report on the community survey conducted by Loras College in Dubuque, Iowa (April, p. 157).

The financial woes of private colleges are directly tied in with the college's public relations with the community.

I hope to adopt the idea here and make use of the "civic talent" available in our

local school in the mutual interest of the school and the business community.

I trust other Chambers will do likewise. To me this is a most practical way to bring Catholic civic action to bear on local problems.

ED HART

Safford-Graham County  
Chamber of Commerce  
Safford, Arizona

\*

## Right reasons and wrong

No thoughtful person can read the May issue of *SOCIAL ORDER* without sensing its particular timeliness. The unique contribution of this international symposium is to focus our thinking anew on the moral duty imposed on men and nations alike by the existence of human need.

As Father Vizard pointed out in his commentary on Father Janssen's stimulating argument, we must view the urgent needs of the underdeveloped countries as something more than an opportunity to make political capital for ourselves.

I do not suggest that assistance to such countries is unrelated to our own welfare. Indeed, I agree with Monsignor Swanson that our own way of life cannot indefinitely continue to exist in a world in which we assume no responsibility for raising the miserable status of the vast majority of human beings.

Lacking a moral motivation, we are likely to fail to achieve the pragmatic objectives of our aid programs. Even the most downtrodden of peoples understand the difference between assistance extended from the heart and that which is only intended to buy "friendship."

It is equally shortsighted to adopt a policy of granting aid to other countries *solely* to counter communist penetration. This tends to make the very existence of a communist threat a valuable resource in the eyes of people most of whom have no consciousness of the real nature of the menace.

Aid which is prompted by such expediency may temporarily help to alleviate misery but it will have no lasting political effect. We cannot create good citizens dedicated to orderly political growth in their own countries by simply filling their bellies with rice. There must be a growing sense of personal belonging and of increasing justice in the distribution of the added production. Man lives not by bread alone.

It is now possible for able, dedicated leaders in Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the support of America and her democratic associates, to bring about greater development of the backward areas of the earth. This will require private investment and government technical assistance, loan and investment programs together with a skillful blending of human understanding, tolerance and tact.

We have the necessary material resources to undertake this task. But it must be an effort motivated and sustained by the sense of "collective responsibility" of which Pope Pius XII spoke in the excerpt quoted in the closing comment of the symposium.

American assistance given for the right reasons, which to us must be Christian reasons, can reach beyond the bodies to the minds and hearts of men in these times

of "suspicion, division and revolt." Economic assistance given on any other basis is doomed to fail.

CHESTER BOWLES

Essex, Conn.

### **Underdeveloped countries**

Your May 1958 issue of *SOCIAL ORDER* on "Duties to Underdeveloped Countries—An International Symposium" is an excellent analysis of the problem and I feel particularly useful to those who are interested in the ethical considerations which are involved in our foreign economic policy. From the viewpoint of the Foreign Policy Association, this kind of treatment of the subject is very useful for local adult education groups and we are recommending it for that purpose in connection with discussion programs on both "Great Decisions—1959," which we are sponsoring throughout the country.

JOHN W. NASON  
Foreign Policy Association  
New York

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THE EDITORS

P. S. In fact, we're hoping to hear from you even without the gift subscription—but, please, 300 words or less so that we can print your letter.

*You live in an age  
that is twisted out of its true pattern,  
and among such people  
you shine out, beacons to the world,  
upholding the message of life.*

*Do all that lies in you,  
never complaining,  
never hesitating,  
to show yourselves innocent  
and single-minded,  
God's children,  
bringing no reproach on his name.*

**Philippians, 2, 15.**

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